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MR. COOLIDGE RETIRES amid the acclaim of those whom he has served. To the business men who wanted a moratorium on reform and newfangled ideas and wished to get the government out of business he has been a godsend. For others it is possibly too early to appraise his work, but it has had certain outstanding characteristics. The Coolidge Administration has been distinguished. It has been distinguished, first, by its complacent attitude toward shocking corruption in high office; second, by its complete surrender of the regulatory powers of the government to the interests to be regulated; third, by the mediocrity or downright shabbiness of the men appointed to high administrative and judicial posts; fourth, by its hypocritical and despotic treatment of our small Latin-American neighbors; and, fifth, by the policy whereby it was resolved that the period of greatest national prosperity was the proper time to inaugurate the practice of starving all productive public enterprise. Curiously enough, the things for which Mr. Coolidge will be longest remembered—the Kellogg Treaty and the appointment of Dwight W. Morrow as ambassador to Mexico—were in a sense accidental, notably the pact. Mr. Kellogg, who proposed the treaty, did not realize its significance and wanted to drop it when France and England made their reservations. It is doubtful if even today Mr. Coolidge realizes what it is all about. Otherwise it is hard to understand why he has stood for the fifteen-cruiser bill. Vision, courage, the knowledge how to serve the masses and the desire to aid them, a realization of a new and better world—these, and much else, have been denied him.

SIX MONTHS HAVE PASSED since Frank P. Walsh presented to Governor C. C. Young of California the accumulated evidence of the innocence of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings. Why has Governor Young been silent? Can he afford to ignore the petition of the judge who sentenced Mooney, the jury which convicted him, and the prosecutor who prosecuted him? Are the California business leaders who wish to keep "agitators" in jail stronger than justice and mercy? The evidence against Mooney and Billings is not like the evidence against Sacco and Vanzetti or the Centralia members of the Industrial Workers of the World. In those cases, while justice was cheated, the convictions were not patently based upon perjury. In the Mooney and Billings case the perjury which sent these men to prison has been confessed and almost every person connected with the case concedes the innocence of the victims. Why are you silent, Governor Young? Isn't six months long enough to consider the evidence that has kept two innocent men in prison for twelve years?

THE BEST WAY to beat peace is to talk it to death, and that has been the major diplomatic indoor sport since the end of the World War. The Treaty of Versailles popularized a new kind of diplomatic evasion, known as a reservation, by which a nation agrees to do something and not do it at the same time. The reservation, together with that similar side-step called an interpretation, enables politicians to talk peace, draw up beautiful documents against war, and then sign them in such a way that they mean practically nothing. The Kellogg Treaty is so plastered with that kind of humbug that nobody knows how far it will or can be invoked to settle forthcoming disputes. The United States undertook to adhere to the World Court in a similarly absurd fashion in 1926, tacking on five reservations to the agreement. The member-nations of the court, in their desire to get the United States in, accepted the first four reservations, but balked at the fifth, which read: "Nor shall it [the court] without the consent of the United States entertain any request for any advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims interest."

NO SELF-RESPECTING MEMBER of the World Court could well accept a reservation which gave a single other country the right to block proceedings in that fashion, but instead of saying so, twenty-four nations signed an answer stating that in the case of Eastern Carolia the World Court had already indicated an intention not to take

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up a controversy against the objection of one of the parties involved if that country was not a member of the League of Nations. This assurance didn't seem good enough to President Coolidge and Secretary Kellogg, who let the matter drop until the last days of the Administration. Then Mr. Kellogg wrote a round robin suggesting that the difference of opinion was slight in substance and that the twenty-four governments might still devise a proviso which in "unobjectionable form" would protect the interests of the United States. To the ordinary citizen all this seems like hair-splitting beside which the debates of the medieval churchmen on how many angels could dance on the point of a needle become relatively sane. Yet so desirous is Europe to see the United States in the World Court that a new formula will probably be proposed, and if at last we adhere to the tribunal it will be even more emasculated than now. All of which has the painful appearance of a barrage of words designed to obscure the specter of increasing preparations for war.

AMERICAN MARINES are still in Nicaragua, but there is a chance that they will not stay there indefinitely after the rebuke which the Coolidge-Kellogg policy received when the Senate voted on February 23 to refuse any money for Nicaraguan occupation after next June. The Senate reversed itself the next day but only after a frantic twenty-four hours of pressure-politics in which Coolidge and Kellogg moved heaven and earth to save their faces. The moral victory belongs to the opposition, because, as Senator Jones of Washington suggested in reversing his vote, unofficial assurance was given that the Administration would withdraw the 3,500 marines from Nicaragua in the near future. We hope that this was not a political trick; Congress has been fooled often enough by an irresponsible State Department which has kept marines in Nicaragua long after the "emergency" for which they were sent. Meanwhile their constituents should know the names of the seven United States Senators who voted for the withdrawal of the marines on Friday and forsook their principles to vote with the Administration on Saturday. They were Ashurst, Blease, Jones of Washington, Smith, Steck, Thomas of Idaho, and Tyson. Unfortunately the proposal of Senator King to withdraw American marines from Haiti received so little support that the Senate defeated it without a roll call.

WHY DOES AMERICAN CAPITAL FLOW abroad at such an amazing rate? A Colombian writer thinks that he has discovered the answer. S. Baldomero Sanin Cano points out that Arizona, New Mexico, Montana, and Wyoming, which together occupy an area slightly larger than that of the Colombian republic, have an average population of fewer than three per square mile. In Colombia—which we traditionally think of as a jungle wilderness, inhabited chiefly by boa constrictors—the population averages 14.7 per square mile. Why does not Yankee capital develop the Yankee States, the writer asks, instead of feeling an irresistible impulse to stray off to Haiti, Colombia, Cuba, and Peru? He thinks, according to *Carteles,* a lively Havana weekly, that Washington gives Yankee capital better guaranties of protection in old Mexico than in New Mexico, in Nicaragua than in Montana. Washington respects the sovereignty of Arizona more than that of Colombia. Arizona has its representatives in Congress who stand ready to fight for State's rights against New York business men. It is an unpleasant suggestion, but it may be true; and there are men in Congress stupid enough to reply to it: "Well, then why don't the Latin states appeal for annexation?" In fact, too, the old imperial method of political absorption may turn out to be milder punishment than the modern style of economic annexation.

JUST WHEN THE NATIONALIST Government seemed to have achieved complete control of central China a revolt broke out in Shantung led by Chang Tsung-chang, whose bandit armies had ruled that province until the Nationalists drove them out. Chang and the remnants of his harem have been hiding under Japanese protection in Dairen for several months, and when his forces start an attack upon the Nationalists at the very moment that Chinese peace negotiations with Japan break down the suspicion seems well founded that the Japanese are supporting him. An official of the Nationalist Government declared on February 24: "Chinese authorities have gathered conclusive evidence that Tokio aided Chang Tsung-chang's departure from Dairen to Shantung, assisting him to launch an anti-Nationalist movement at Shantung." Whatever may be the truth of this charge, it is certain that the presence of Japanese troops in Shantung, controlling the railroads and making a neutral zone through which the Chinese cannot pass, will greatly embarrass the Nationalists in ridding the province of rebels. Meanwhile, from the interior come reports that another rebel group has captured the provincial government of Hunan, which is the center of Russian influence and the peasant unions. If the workers and peasants of Canton, Hunan, and Hankow gain control of this new revolt, it will be much more significant for the future of China than the raids of Chang Tsung-chang.

THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSPAPER TRUST has arrived. From England comes the news of the formation, with a capital of $15,000,000, of the Anglo-Foreign Newspapers Company, fathered by the Carmelite Trust, which already had acquired large holdings in the Northcliffe newspapers. The group of directors of the new company includes Sir Robert Donald of the *Daily Chronicle,* Mr. Valentine Williams, long associated with the *Daily Mail,* and Mr. Cranfield Hicks, formerly of the *Daily Express.* The avowed purpose is to obtain "financial holdings in newspapers abroad and in Great Britain with a view to developing them on commercial lines." Nothing is said, of course, about the extraordinary social and political effects of this ownership of foreign dailies by British capitalists. Already there are protests in France. Thus the *Matin* demands that, if this British trust invades French territory, the Government take prompt legislative action. Any attempts, it says, of foreign investors to lay hands upon public opinion in France "are doomed to failure." Undoubtedly Germany will take the same attitude. As for the United States, in view of the persistence of the false charges that a goodly proportion of the American press is now owned by British gold, the purchase of even a single American daily would arouse a storm of protest against foreign propaganda which would have serious results. Most of our dailies have grievous faults, but we want those faults and their good qualities alike to remain American.

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WHEN THE PERFECT STATE arrives, and not before, we shall have a perfect State Department. As ong as industry is a corrupting, wasteful scramble for indi- idual profits, instead of a system of scientific production and istribution for service, so long will corruptible and incompe- ent politicians have a footing in government offices, even in he Department of State. Some improvement may be possi- le in the meanwhile, though, by better organization and a ore fairly paid personnel. William T. Stone, Washington epresentative of the Foreign Policy Association, suggests this i a detailed study he has just made of the department. He alls special attention to the fact that under the recently nacted Rogers law the foreign-service personnel of the State Department is much better paid than the home-office force. 'urthermore, in order to benefit from the experience of the oreign-service personnel, many of these men are withdrawn rom posts abroad to work in Washington—a loss to the for- ign service and an injustice to the home force. The pay of he latter seems to be markedly inadequate, but a general dvance would be doubtful wisdom except in relation to ther government services. Also, good salaries alone do not uarantee good work, nor do poor ones prevent it, either in overnment office or outside. Alvey A. Adee was one of the ost useful officers which the Department of State ever had. He served it for fifty-five years—was Second Assistant Secre- ary for thirty-eight years—and when he died in 1924 was eceiving $4,500 a year.

ANOTHER RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION ordinance has been passed in the South, this time by he Richmond, Virginia, Board of Aldermen, by a unani- nous vote. This is a direct violation of the Constitution f the United States as interpreted by the Supreme Court. ndeed, it is flat defiance of that tribunal as well as the ntire authority of the federal government, for in no less han five cases has the National Association for the Advance- ent of Colored People defeated segregation by ordinance, nce in Louisiana, and in Dallas, Indianapolis, and Nor- olk, as well as in Louisville, Kentucky. It was this Louis- ille case which the association carried up to the Supreme Court, where it was declared unconstitutional by a unani- nous decision. Is it possible that the Richmond aldermen are naware of this and have acted through ignorance? This eminds us that the National Association for the Advance- ent of Colored People is celebrating the twentieth year of ts successful activity in behalf of the rights of the Negro, nd incidentally in behalf of the honor and decency of the hite people and of the integrity of the Constitution of the Jnited States. It is taking this opportunity to ask of all ho believe in fair play in America, and the constitutional uaranties of justice for all, to contribute to a fund of 200,000 which it is raising in order to insure the perma- ency of its work. We sincerely trust that the amount will e oversubscribed.

WE COMMENTED recently on the conquest of Ger- many by American capital. Now comes news of the mazing extension of American control over one of the most ital industries of Great Britain. A gigantic British elec- ric-power firm, the Greater London and Counties Trust, hich controls seven of the leading power companies of the British Isles, has sold out to the Utilities Power and Light Corporation of the United States. So American capitalists will dominate the electric industry in ninety-five cities and towns of England and Scotland and in certain great areas in the suburbs of London. Ironically enough, one of Britain's great patriots, the Earl of Birkenhead, formerly Lord High Chancellor, will serve as chairman of this Amer- can-owned concern. Theoretically the union of Brit- ish and American capital will make for peace be- tween the two countries, but in practice we doubt that an Englishman will enjoy paying tribute to American capitalists every time he switches on an electric light. The New York *Times* reports that the new purchase has aroused much criticism in British financial circles, one London paper declaring that "The power of the dollar is given control of British concerns."

> If the test of our civilization and our religion is the treatment accorded prisoners in local institutions, then we should hide our heads in shame. Science has not yet pene- trated the jail; its walls have kept out all enlightenment, and a religion which permits the existence of such condi- tions as are here set forth is no religion, but merely a heathen worship of ancient forms.

SO READS THE SCATHING INDICTMENT of local jails in the United States drawn by a subcommittee of the National Crime Commission headed by former Gov- ernor Frank O. Lowden of Illinois. After a survey the committee reaches the conclusion that local jails are a failure, partly because most counties and towns are too small to handle prisoners properly, and it suggests the State owner- ship of local jails. But the committee's most significant sug- gestion concerns the fines now levied against poor offenders. In 1923, 169,231 prisoners, over half of those confined in local jails in the United States, were there because they could not pay fines, and the committee strongly condemns this sys- tem of penalizing poverty. It suggests instead the creation of local probation organizations which shall collect fines on the instalment plan. This seems plausible, but why not abolish fines altogether? Any system of economic penalties is bound to favor the rich and discriminate against the poor. Incidentally, if more of our rich went to jail, we would have better prisons.

THE tariff boys come one by one
To the Ways and Means Committee;
They wipe away a righteous tear
As they sing this soulful ditty:

A duty here and a duty there
And a compound rate on hankies;
May foreign buttons never fill
The buttonholes of Yankees.

Hoist up the rate on shoes from Prague
And straw hats from Milan;
Do your ad valorem duty
On those uppers from Japan.

Oh, some give everything for love,
And others live for beauty;
But the tariff hound, from Grundy down,
Knows only one word: *Duty*.

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The Thirty-first President

HERBERT HOOVER takes office with the good-will of his countrymen and with the prestige of the largest electoral majority ever received by a President. Known far beyond the seas as has been no other incoming President since the early days of the republic, there is widespread hope and expectation that the first engineer to enter the White House will achieve much in the modernization of our government as an administrative organization.

Herbert Hoover's own reputation as a business executive is second to none. Moreover, the very extent of his victory in a sense clears the decks for him. At least it was so overwhelming that no man and no set of men, especially the small-fry politicians and the survivors of the disreputable Harding gang whose services Mr. Hoover so cheerfully accepted, can claim credit for the landslide which swept him into office. Again, the seas before the ship of state are for the moment calm. Aside from the naval rivalry between the United States and England, there is little in foreign affairs to cause immediate concern. There is still a considerable measure of prosperity and the profits of the widespread speculation in stocks are still filtering down through various classes in the community. The farmers are temporarily assuaged by the promise of action at the coming special session of Congress. On the surface the omens appear, for the moment, altogether favorable. Why should we not see one of the greatest of Presidential administrations?

To this the answer lies largely in Mr. Hoover himself. The American Executive is not, of course, supreme. There is the Congress as a check upon the President. Hence the question of the personal relations of the President to the Congress is often all-important—as witness the story of Andrew Johnson. Moreover, it does not follow that the President who heads the largest Congressional battalions is most at his ease or most in control. Swollen majorities in Congress are not easily kept in line, and they have a disconcerting way of melting considerably in the next Congressional elections. Everything depends, therefore, upon the ability of the President to get on with Congress. Cleveland failed to do so. Roosevelt swore that he would never break with it, yet he did antagonize it. Wilson could not win the regard of Congress as a whole nor keep it Democratic to the end.

How will Mr. Hoover fare? The answering of that query will make Washington one of the most interesting of places during the next four months. There it is known that he is unpopular with the run of the press correspondents; that he has never been beloved in Congress, sometimes for reasons entirely to his credit. His shyness with strangers is recorded, likewise the occasions when he has lost his temper when badgered before committees of House or Senate.

It has not been overlooked, too, that he deeply resents criticism, that unfavorable press comments cut him like a knife. Like all great and masterful executives, Mr. Hoover is impatient over inquiry into and study of the decisions he has himself made. So observers wonder whether he is going to be happy in an office which, more than any other, requires the patience and long-suffering of Job, ai almost impossible understanding of all sorts and kinds o men, a readiness to hear at length, to reason, to be rea soned with, and to move slowly and deliberately.

It is this which is making competent observers say tha Mr. Hoover's Administration will either be, on the purely executive side, one of the most memorable in our history or that he will be one of the greatest failures in the Presi dency. From the administrative side one is almost inclined to wish that Mr. Hoover could do the job alone to the ex tent of modernizing the governmental machinery. For years there has been pending a report of an official commissior headed by Walter F. Brown, calling for the modernizatior of the federal government, the abolition of some of the sepa rate commissions, and the coordination and amalgamation o others. No headway has been made up to this time. Be tween the dislike of Congress for cutting off places and the inertia of the departments themselves, nothing has been accomplished. Here is obviously a field for the special talents of Mr. Hoover.

Yet this problem, like the others confronting him, ob viously brings us straight back to the question of how Mr Hoover will get on with Congress. Will he be able to hold in check a temper which sometimes bursts out like a flood through a dam? Will he be able to persuade, to convince to cajole the key-men in Congress? To appeal over their heads to the country should be a last resort for any President; for Mr. Hoover, with his inability to stump the country or arouse enthusiasm in audiences, it would be impossible were it not for the radio. There he has a weapon by his side.

Unfortunately for the new President, every question of reform must at first be subordinated to the special session of Congress, which campaign exigencies made him promise to call. Nothing is harder for a new President to face than a special session just after he takes office. It meets before he and his Cabinet have had time to settle down to their tasks or to make all the necessary changes and appointments incident to a new regime. It is still harder if that special session deals with the tariff, for no tariff revision can come to pass without heart-burnings, without jealousies, without ruffled feelings, without leaving animosities behind.

Mr. Hoover's own decision to restrict the special session to such changes as he thinks will aid the farmer means that, if he adheres to it, he will at once come to grips with the tariff bosses who believe that they own the government. It will be a grilling test of the force, ability, diplomacy, and steadfastness of the new President. Before long we shall known, therefore, whether Mr. Hoover will be master in the White House or not; whether he has the power to dominate his party majority and bring it to his viewpoint; whether the barons of privilege will control, or he; and, finally, whether he will be able to rally public opinion to his side. If he does turn to the public and makes it clear that he is for the interests of the people above all else, then will their response be immediate and joyous, and it will come from all classes and all parties alike.

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The Churches and Marriage

ALARMED by the rebellion of the younger generation against conventional sex standards, the Federal Council of Churches appointed a committee of investigation which recently issued its first report on "Ideals of Love and Marriage." A glance at the membership of the committee reveals the fact that Bishop Cannon as chairman presided over twenty-one preachers and professional church workers and three laymen, who included no independent social scientists except one representative of the American Social Hygiene Association. As could be expected under the circumstances, the report is a compromise between variations of conservative opinion.

Obligingly the committee summarizes its own "high lights," of which the four most important are:

The Christian ideal of marriage can make no compromise with lax sex relations.

The chief danger of companionate marriage is that it puts sex desire first.

The free woman on the basis of equality and self-respect can be the life-mate of one man only.

Divorce, even when allowed by the church, must be looked upon as a tragic and humiliating failure.

Such sweeping generalizations naturally evoke questions. What, precisely, are "lax sex relations"? Is the church to be the judge of laxity or is the younger generation to be the judge? If the churchmen set up strictly institutional and legal standards for judging marriage, what justification and body of facts can they bring to the support of their standards? Certainly unless they can supply something more than declarations of principle, the younger generation will say that they are begging the whole question of sexual conduct. Solomon had 700 wives and 300 concubines but by the church standards of his own time he was not guilty of "lax sex relations." The Koran allows a man to take four wives, and the Hindu law books do not prohibit polygamy. The story of human marriage as told by a man like Edward Westermarck shows that the right and wrong of it varies as sharply from nation to nation and from epoch to epoch as the style of headgear or the method of cooking. The Eskimos who lend their wives to visitors continue to maintain homes as stable as those of Southern Methodists.

The churchmen's generalization on divorce also arouses questions. Must all divorce be looked upon as tragic and humiliating? What of the many reasonable and innocent men and women who go into marriage without sex experience to find themselves mismated psychically and sexually, agree to part in friendly fashion, and try again? Must they feel tragic and humiliated because they have made a common mistake of youth? And why must the free woman be "the life mate of one man only" if she is to maintain equality and self-respect? Why not leave the choice as to the number of gentlemen to the lady herself if she is really free?

We are living in that particular part of the Western Hemisphere which in the early twentieth century is dominated by a set of religious and social traditions called "monogamy." We think it is the best form of marriage, but like all other moral institutions this one of monogamy should be tested on its merits to see if the traditional method of sexual life is sound. This test the Federal Council committee has not made—and perhaps cannot make because it is bound in advance by a preconceived notion of sexual right and wrong. It has delivered a series of opinions based upon the assumption that the pattern of the monogamous family is good in itself.

Because of this preconceived moral pattern the churchmen put the cart before the horse and suggest that the family as an institution is more important than human happiness. Speaking of the agony of many homes, they say:

> This raises the question whether happiness should ever be made the primary object of any human relationship, especially in such a fundamental social institution as the home. And a second question: Does not happiness tend to elude pursuit, and does it not come more often when unsought, along the pathway of loyalty and duty?

To suggest this supremacy of institutional duty over human happiness to a generation raised on Freud shows surprising—shall we say?—temerity. We wonder if the Federal Council committee believes that an unhappy home held together by a sense of duty is an institution worth preserving. Perhaps it is in some cases because of the children, but generally speaking it is hard to conceive of a worse environment for children than a home in which happy, free choice has been supplanted by duty as the cohesive force. It may be as immoral as a bawdy-house.

The Federal Council committee announces that it will make reports later on divorce and possibly on birth control. Meanwhile men and women will continue to make the moral standards about which the churchmen write reports.

A Vexing War Debt

THE approach, on August 1, of the date when the promissory notes fall due which were given in 1919 by the French Government for the purchase of the unused war supplies of the American Expeditionary Forces has again aroused talk in France of the alleged unfair bargain that was made in the sale. The French feel that they were overreached, because the materials were bought for $407,000,000 and realized only the equivalent of $270,000,000. This heavy loss was due not to any misrepresentation by the United States but to the depreciation of the French franc and to delay in disposing of the goods. The stores comprised foodstuffs of all sorts, quantities of clothing, lumber, railway materials, thousands of automobiles and tractors, as well as lesser equipment ranging from typewriters to safety pins.

The question was what to do with this huge mass of merchandise which was estimated to have cost $1,300,000,000. The American commissioners were ready to sell so as to avoid keeping a surveillance and clerical force abroad of perhaps 40,000 men for an uncertain period, while the French were ready to buy in view of the public's acute post-war demand for goods of every description. In August, 1919, an agreement was signed, according to which the property was sold for $400,000,000 and ten-year notes of the French Government, bearing interest at 5 per cent, were

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accepted in payment. On July 5, 1920, certain railway material and tools were disposed of for $7,341,145. No guaranty as to the quantity, quality, or condition of the materials was required; nor was an inventory insisted upon.

The evacuation by the American forces of the forty supply camps took from September 15, 1919, until January 5, 1920, and was attended by many thefts and depredations. When the French assumed control this plundering was continued on an even greater scale. What facilitated this spoliation was the inadequate force of 7,000 men, or one-fourteenth of the number employed by the Americans, assigned by the French Minister of War to protect the supplies. At Gièvres, the largest camp of all, 800 French soldiers took the place of 18,000 American troops. The leakage was so great that, for example, out of the 72,516 American automobiles reported on hand in March, 1919, only 34,211 could be found by the French authorities, while of the 20,970 motor cycles enumerated at the same time only 2,987 were ultimately located.

Where the ceded war material was of a perishable nature or insufficiently protected against exposure to the weather it deteriorated rapidly in value. Some of the stocks did not appeal to French consumers, while those that were readily marketable were not disposed of promptly owing to the lack of a trained sales force. When the post-war boom collapsed and the value of the franc fell, in 1920, only a small portion of the American war stocks had been sold and paid for. Had the major part of them been paid for before then they would have yielded a much larger sum than was realized.

Nevertheless, despite all these sources of wastage, over 3,100,000,000 of francs have been collected from the sale, or the equivalent of $270,000,000 in American currency, since the franc was worth nine cents on the average during the time the materials were being sold. More than $400,000,000 would have been obtained had the franc remained at 13.66 cents, the figure at which it was quoted on August 1, 1919, when title to the war stocks passed. But for the decline in the value of the franc the French Government would have incurred no loss.

As the French franc was stabilized last year at 25.52 francs to the dollar, or slightly under four cents, the retirement of the $400,000,000 notes next August will call for an outlay in excess of 10,000,000,000 of francs, while the sale of the American war stocks realized only 3,000,000,000. But the depreciation of the franc has not changed the status of commercial debts payable in gold. The French Government will either have to meet its $400,000,000 in notes when they mature or ratify the Mellon-Bérenger debt agreement. In the latter case, this comparatively small post-war debt would be merged with the $4,000,000,000 borrowed by France from the United States during the war, and the total would be funded over a long period. The immediate respite thus gained is the chief argument advanced in France for accepting the Mellon-Bérenger arrangement. There is much opposition to this agreement in Parliament and among the people, based largely on a feeling that the war debt ought not to be pressed by the United States and is not an obligation which France is honor bound to pay. This argument does not apply to the small post-war debt. But the immediate pressure of the latter obligation may lead to acknowledging both debts as equally binding.

"M. E. S."

"M. E. S." is what they called him, not for lack of respect, but out of deep love, affection, and admiration. For no one could work with Melville E. Stone without becoming devoted to him because of his kindliness, his consideration, and the generally attractive qualities of his nature. Not that he was always hail-fellow-well-met. He could show his teeth and speak sharply and effectively if the situation warranted, as sometimes it did. But he had a rare genius for friendship which was, of course, of inestimable value to him as the general manager of the Associated Press for twenty-eight years.

In that position, more than any other one man, he built up the great news service which today furnishes information to some twelve hundred American dailies and to many beyond the oceans. He set its standards high—much higher than they are today—and according to his principles lived up to them. His pride in the service was communicated to all who came in contact with him. The splendid esprit de corps of the men under him was a natural response, and he left no stone unturned to keep the service free from the slightest suspicion of venality. If he erred, and sometimes he did, as when he accepted decorations from foreign Powers, the mistakes were those of the heart and of his warm and sometimes impulsive nature. But he was distinctly a leader of men, one who had conceived a great vision and never ceased, as long as he lived, to help to make it come true. He, for instance, knew the value of the non-profit-making character of the Associated Press. It was he who first glimpsed in its entirety the usefulness of the organization in the international field, a usefulness which frequently went far beyond the mere carrying of news. Whenever he went abroad to courts or governments he was a welcome unofficial ambassador, and so it was given to him to know in extraordinary numbers the great men of the world — everybody of eminence in the last fifty years counted himself Mr. Stone's friend.

Perhaps the truest measure of the man's greatness is that when one of his sons lost his life on the Lusitania the father refused to hate the nation that was responsible. He quietly investigated the circumstances, found that the sinking was not a premeditated act of war, and, while utterly deprecating the barbarity of the act, refused to allow his own overwhelming grief to influence his attitude as a news man. Perhaps his greatest achievement was one of the last of his career, the establishment by a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States that there can be property in news. The decision grew out of the use of Associated Press dispatches, rewritten in other language, by the Hearst newspapers. The defense was that nothing was used but the facts and that they were not protected by copyright. The Supreme Court did not accept this view. It ruled that the facts had been obtained by expenditure of money and so had acquired the character of property.

Mr. Stone was indeed an unusual man, of a constructive mind, remarkable executive powers, and a most frank, engaging, and delightful personality. The combination is rare, indeed. It enabled Melville E. Stone to write his name unforgettably in the annals of American journalism.

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It Seems to Heywood Broun

AFTER a long vacation from this column I hope that readers will be refreshed again and let me talk of prohibition. And yet I do not want to dwell on alcohol itself or to deny that very many benefits have accrued to this land through Volsteadism. The savings banks are just as full as are the jails. And it is of prison reform that I wish to write. It seems to me that the campaign for prohibition has been all but fatal to the move for a reformation of prisons and the penal code itself. A representative in the House ironically has offered a bill providing for the death penalty in the case of liquor violations. This is not a particularly humorous joke. To me it seems by no means inconceivable that such a punishment will be placed upon the statute books within the next decade. Surely it would have seemed inconceivable two or three years ago that a woman should receive a life sentence for petty bootlegging even though it was her fourth offense.

Prohibition stands in the way of prison reform because the first step in any amelioration of prison conditions lies in lessening congestion and quite literally the Volstead act and all attendant legislation creates criminals. I mean that a very large percentage of the people in American jails today are serving sentences for doing something which was no crime at all fifteen years ago. The Jones Bill may prove a deterrent or it can work out merely to increase the number of prison inmates through its provision for longer sentences. Sooner or later we shall have the perfectly logical legislation that the man who buys is as guilty as the one who sells and if there is anything like adequate enforcement of such ordinances America ought to be able to boast the largest prison population ever known in history.

Nor am I speaking entirely as a wet fanatic. It is probably true that the Eighteenth Amendment has caused a decrease in certain kinds of crime. It may even be that by stiffening penalties violators may be frightened off and abstinence fully established. But obviously this theory wars against the new dispensation which was slowly creeping into American penal practice. Men like Clarence Darrow have been arguing for years against the theory of punishment. Criminologists have been trying to educate the public up to the notion that a prison should be something in the nature of a hospital.

Even the muddled-headed Baumes Law is built upon a partial realization of the fact that the inveterate petty criminal may be a greater menace to the community than the man or woman who commits a major crime. Under the old eye for an eye theory the murderer must die. But if you consider his case merely from the standpoint of his utility, or lack of it, to the community a murderer may be one of the least dangerous of all criminals. The jealous husband who kills his wife does not deserve the vote of thanks which he is so likely to get from a sentimental jury and yet there is something of wisdom in verdicts founded upon the unwritten law. In a dim way the twelve good men and true comprehend the fact that this man who has sinned greatly is most unlikely to do it again. The likelihood of repetition in the case of a killer moved by some personal passion is slight. In fact, the chances are against his ever so much as marrying again. For instance, the young women of his neighborhood are hardly likely to consider him an eligible widower.

If America intends to proceed upon the theory that prohibition can be enforced only by a process of stiffening the penalties it is inevitable that this same system will be employed all along the line in criminal courts and codes. The Anti-Saloon League, the W. C. T. U., and similar organizations are fond of saying, upon occasion, that enforcement would be aided by a campaign of education. But obviously the drys have little faith in this sort of suasion. Nothing but stubbornness is aroused in the pupil when he is told, "This you should do because it is good for you and very right and proper and also this you must do because if you fail to obey you will be clapped into jail."

This is a good system for developing martyrs but a poor one for making converts. Indeed, if the prohibition people actually had faith in the malleability of mankind we would have today a vigorous temperance campaign instead of bone-dry legislation. In a sense the drys of today have displayed a contempt toward the earlier temperance workers. At one time there was a lively belief that man might be good enough to leave off alcohol of his own accord if only he were prayed with enough and persuaded to look at colored charts showing the effects of rum upon his internal organs. But the Jones Bill has no educational features. Five years in prison has never yet provided a curriculum in which any useful subjects were included.

Our new and fiercer criminal codes stem directly from the prohibition movement. Here, too, we have abandoned all thought of what may be done through education. In spite of many listed benefits it can hardly be urged that Volsteadism has ushered in an era of kindliness. When topers die of poisoned alcohol the staunchest of the drys have never expressed any shade of sorrow. "They committed suicide" has been the familiar rejoinder and the feeling has been that if enough violators did away with themselves in this manner enforcement might be made just so much easier. There is, of course, a strong evangelical Christian core in the prohibition movement and the rural Baptists and Methodists have held staunchly to hell-fire in spite of modernistic theories. Now, you cannot expect much mercy from folk who believe in a God willing to cast transgressors into eternal torment. Prison reform does not lie in this direction.

America must face the fact that the day of reaction has set in with a vengeance. Already there are lawmakers who would bring back the lash and the whipping post. Grim-visaged Borah is prepared to ride like another Cromwell bringing to the benighted the sword and the Constitution. At the moment one line of defense is still left to us. Against the practice of maiming people into righteousness a proper answer may be made if juries will stand firm in the more enlightened communities. The essential answer to the present campaign of legal terrorism is a bold "Not guilty" no matter what the evidence. Of course, the Constitution is a sanctified document, but there still remain human rights which are even more ancient.

HEYWOOD BROUN

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Carl Schurz—American: 1829-1929

By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

LET it be said first that no immigrant ever landed upon America's shores with greater faith in democratic institutions and with more eagerness to devote himself to the service of the American Republic than Carl Schurz. To be a revolutionist at nineteen was not unusual in the Europe of the nineteenth century, but to be nineteen and able by one's eloquence and one's pen to stir and arouse one's elders to mutiny and rage—that was quite out of the ordinary. Schurz flung himself into the ill-fated German revolution of 1848-1849 without thought of danger, extricated himself from the captured fortress of Rastatt as by a miracle, and then risked his life by returning twice to Germany, even entering Berlin to liberate from prison in Spandau, itself a fortress, his beloved teacher, the patriot Gottfried Kinkel. That is today the best known of the individual acts of heroism and daring of that revolution which, had it succeeded, would have driven the German kings and grand dukes from their thrones sixty years before they were destined to abdicate in ignominy and disaster. How different would have been the story of the world had there been no kaisers!

The measure of Carl Schurz's ability and of his power to impress his neighbors with his rare gifts is evidenced by his coming within 107 votes of being elected lieutenant-governor of Wisconsin before he had become a naturalized citizen or even learned to speak publicly in English. That canvass for votes, however, made his reputation; from 1858 on he was in demand in every succeeding campaign until shortly before his death. Naturally he threw himself into the Abolition movement. Fresh from the tyrannies of Europe it was not necessary to prove to him that liberty has no qualifications; that it is as dear to the heart beneath a black skin as a white one. His friendship with Lincoln, begun by a chance encounter on a train, held firm until the Emancipator's end. It was not long before Lincoln wrote to this immigrant that he held him in deeper affection than anyone else he had known so short a time. Schurz was defeated for the nomination for governor in 1859; but thereafter he won higher distinctions than any foreign-born citizen in the history of our country. Albert Gallatin was elected a Senator of the United States and was Secretary of the Treasury. Schurz was Senator from Missouri and Secretary of the Interior, but also Minister to Spain and a major-general of volunteers who commanded an army corps in the greatest battle of the Rebellion, Gettysburg.

Nor were these merely the rewards of partisanship. Lincoln did send him to Spain out of gratitude for campaign services both in 1858 and 1860, just when Schurz was raising a regiment of cavalry in New York. But behind his early party zeal were brains, ability, rare oratorical power, and the vision of a statesman. There were plenty of brigades and divisions in the Army of the Potomac commanded by professional soldiers when it passed in review before Lincoln in 1862. But Lincoln let it be known that the men who showed the best drill and discipline were those commanded by General Schurz. Similarly it was not because he was a foreigner that Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts summoned him to come to his aid in a campaign in that State in 1859 against the Know-Nothings of that day. There was no German vote in Massachusetts. But the fame of Schurz's intellectual powers had spread over the country. He came to Boston and his address on "True Americanism" remains to confront recreant descendants of the passengers on the Mayflower who have forgotten, if they ever knew, the Declaration of Independence.

Once the war was over, Schurz was one of the first to lay aside his uniform and his title. Never did he call himself General Schurz; never did he make use of the Congressional permission to wear his major-general's uniform whenever he wished. He could not be lured into the Grand Army of the Republic. No military title is carved upon his tombstone. Like Sherman and Grant and Sheridan and the other leaders of that day he abhorred war and everything pertaining to it. No syllable glorifying it ever fell from his lips. Nor did he ever suggest in all his speeches that militarism was synonymous with patriotism. Day and night he worked in 1898 to keep this country out of war. No preparedness dogma ever appealed to him. He knew better; and no one looked with greater or more justified misgivings upon the rise of the modern American war fleet. Militarism in America was to him no different or less abhorrent than in Germany or Russia. Yet so fair was he to the army in its dealings with the Indians when Secretary of the Interior that a regular officer, General Charles King, has recorded that those were "halcyon days" for the troops when Schurz was in control. Then there was fair play for settlers, Indians, and troops alike.

But that was characteristic of Carl Schurz. Passionately as he held to his beliefs there was detachment and judicial poise whenever he took a position. In the eighties no man's speeches produced more political effect than his, for he brought to public questions German scholarship and thoroughness, as well as conscience. There are still plenty to remember those deadly, effective orations in 1884 which literally stripped James G. Blaine to the skin and branded him unfit. They were long, those speeches; perhaps the most successful he ever made—that in Cooper Union, New York, in 1860—took three hours to deliver; but no one left the hall. Besides his logic, his extraordinary marshaling of the facts, his analysis of his opponents' arguments to their destruction, he had wit and biting sarcasm. He who knew no word of English until he was twenty-two was a master of the language; unlike others of foreign birth he spoke an unusually distinguished English; he was above mere colloquialisms. But even this would have helped him relatively little had it not been reinforced by his transparent sincerity, earnestness, and devotion to the public weal. Never did character tell better. Partisans cursed him when he interfered with their games as a "Dutchman." Party organs like the New York *Tribune* might tell him to go back to Germany if he did not like their way of doing things. They knew that this man was incorruptible, that his patriotism in civil life was no more to be questioned than had been his

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loyalty on the battlefield. They snarled, but they could not limb beyond the lowest level of his amused contempt.

Partisan he was at the beginning because the Republican was the party of freedom. No sooner had he entered the Senate from Missouri in 1869, however, than he showed his political independence. Not even President Grant's personal appeal to him could make him indorse the proposed annexation of Santo Domingo. There he stood with Charles Sumner; these two great men, with others, staved off the American lurch into overseas annexations for a quarter of a century. By 1872 he was outside the party breastworks helping to nominate a third candidate for the Presidency. When he left the Cabinet of Hayes, Schurz, the independent, was politically free. The chief editorship of the *Evening Post*—itself just freed of party bonds by the public spirit of Henry Villard—was for him an ideal position. That he did not hold it long has nothing to do with its political policies. For he stood with it in 1884 when its assaults upon Blaine, like his own, created an army of "Mugwumps." At their doors was laid the defeat of Blaine by a majority for Cleveland of only 1149 votes in New York State.

As for his periods of journalistic activity, of which there were five, it cannot be said that he was a natural-born journalist or a great leader-writer like his associate and successor on the *Evening Post,* Edwin L. Godkin. The swelling periods and the elaborations of the orator rarely yield in the same man to the direct style of the editorial page. But he was again and again sought out to head dailies or weeklies because of his rare political prevision and judgment, because of his profound knowledge of men, affairs, and methods of government, because of the native power and force of his arguments. Let us set down anew the debt that *The Nation* owes to him. To this journal he was attracted from its beginning in 1865. Even when Senator he wrote frequently for it, in 1872-1873 regularly, though anonymously. Those two years from 1881 to 1883 in which he was a daily associate of the editors were always precious memories. No man on the joint staff of the *Evening Post* and *Nation* but admired and loved him. When the time for parting came it was with mutual regard and a continuing cooperation as long as he and they lived. In the columns of *Harper's Weekly* he for years tilled the same fields and plowed the same furrows. One but reinforced the other.

That this foreign-born citizen should have become the most ardent and one of the most effective defenders of the ideals of the Founders of the United States remains the most moving fact about Schurz's whole career. So deeply did he adore his adopted country that he steeped himself in its philosophy until he was permeated by the spirit of that true Americanism which he never ceased to defend. Here was another great patriot to believe in no entangling alliances. He would have been the first, out of his European background and knowledge, to implore his countrymen to take no part in any struggle overseas, as he was outspoken against the war in Cuba and the Philippines. He held this Republic too precious to have its honor bandied about the market-places of war, too exalted to stoop to the methods of autocrats abroad to whose predecessors, when a boy, he had flung down the gauntlet and backed it with his life. New days and new methods? No, there could have been none for him; for he stood always rooted in principle; his philosophy was deep and true. He would merely have foretold that democracy is not to be safeguarded by war and he would have watched the reenthronement of autocracy in Italy, Russia, Poland, Spain, Jugoslavia, and the rest, with melancholy but no surprise.

He would be deeply hurt as well, if he were here, to find the Know-Nothingism of the fifties in full flower again and in the saddle in Washington. As these lines are written the exclusionists in Congress are doing their best to make the immigrant still more an outcast, an object of suspicion and distrust from the hour of his arrival, to be deported for offenses which in native-born citizens seem to the public all but harmless. Forgotten are the men of foreign blood who poured into the Northern armies, Germans, Irish, French, Hungarians, Scotch, and English, who by their blood made possible the survival of the Union. Forgotten is the long roll of Schurz's revolutionary comrades-in-arms in Baden in 1849, Sigel, Blenker, Willich, Hecker, Schimmelpfennig, everyone of whom became a colonel or a general in 1861—not one of whom went South. Forgotten are the multitudes of the foreign-born who pioneered side by side with the pioneers from New England, who helped blaze the trails through Illinois to Wisconsin and Minnesota, and then across the Mississippi and the Rockies to the Pacific itself. Their lives are built into the bone and sinew of the Republic; their blood and their ashes have fertilized the soil of every State. They are as much a part of the story of America as any Anglo-Saxon who ever stepped off an immigrant ship—yes, not only North Europeans but those from the South as well, from the lands of Kossuth and Garibaldi and Mazzini. Yet their deeds are today ignored! Were Carl Schurz here to celebrate his hundredth birthday that would surely be his plea—justice for and trust in those who, as he did himself, come now to give to the United States a new and fresh devotion, a quickening of the thinning blood of those who, born into American life and riches, give no heed to the glory or the sacredness of traditions handed down to them.

It is easy to visualize Schurz as he stood on platform after platform pleading for this cause or reform, inveighing against that injustice, flaming with anger at those who would do violence to the ideals of the Republic. He was tall like Lincoln, and almost lank; his bearded face once seen was never to be forgotten. From out of his eyes shone wisdom, kindliness, humor, faith, and good-will toward everyone. Within him dwelt a spirit not to be quenched—not even when, with unfaltering courage, he went upstream against the mob as in 1898 and some men forgot what this patriot had done and in their superficial rage would have commanded hemlock to his lips. His was a happy life, happy in its astonishing achievements, happy in its hopes, happy in its aspirations, happy in its belief in democracy and mankind. Henry W. Nevinson, the great English writer and war correspondent, has just quoted as to his own career Goethe's words: "For myself I am happy enough. Joy comes streaming in upon me from every side, only for others I am unhappy." Joy came streaming in upon Schurz. He was unhappy only for others or his country. Despite bereavements in his family, the rich sun of an active useful life warmed him to the end. As fearless as during the disaster at Chancellorsville he said in his last moments: "It is so easy to die!" Fortune was perhaps kindest to him then. A few years more, and even this great soul would have found it anguish to live.

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Publicity Gone Mad

By SINCLAIR LEWIS

NOTHING in that admirable magazine the *New Yorker,* not even Dorothy Parker's epigram that "Upton Sinclair is his own King Charles's head," not even the scene in which the modernistic child answers her mother's urging to eat the Nice Broccoli by saying "I say it's spinach and I say to hell with it," not even Arno's Rabelaisian Whoops sisters, has been more important than the picture of the radio announcer observing Howard Chandler Christy's painting of President Coolidge and informing 10,000,000 panting listeners that, just this moment, Mr. Christy is historically putting a little more red on the nose. The only trouble is that the whole thing is so confoundedly possible. It may really have happened. If not, it is only because the Republican press-agents did not happen to think of it.

In this, the greatest nation the world has ever known —and it really is, you know—in this, the first great nation in which all individuality, all sweetness of life, all saline and racy earthiness has with success been subordinated to a machine-ruled industrialism, the immemorial human desire for expressing one's self is shown not in such obscene foreign devilments as sitting in a beer garden and talking of God and Beethoven, but in advertising and publicity. The man whose hat, religion, job, pay-check, house, and soul are completely standardized gains the ancient privilege of being different by reading of Chief Officer Manning's ecstatic passion for Lucky Strikes, the lovely Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt's adoration of Pond's Cream, the voice replacing clothes of Ganna Walska, the royal devotion of Princess What's-her-name to Borzoi Books, and the maidenly splendor of the young lady whose body was made by Fisher. In these lucrative magnificences, the man whose life is completely bounded by the 7:49 and 5:16 trains and the Bonanza Movie House, and his wife whose life is even more determined by those same boundaries, vicariously find something like a decent and self-respecting and heroic life.

But I am an optimist—naturally, for only optimists take the trouble to write for *The Nation.* The pessimists commit suicide or go and live in some individualized country like Austria. And as an optimist I rejoice that this incredible spectacle of the Lucky Strike gentry and the lords of the United States Lines combining to make ridiculous the really courageous work of the America in saving the crew of the Florida has nauseated even these meek States. The proposal to have Captain Fried go from city to city (how he would have hated it) has been dropped. Many newspapers, as well as such finicky sheets as *The Nation* and the *New Yorker* have protested. And a man who is probably as important as any one in all of the advertising business has been roused to damn the Lucky Strike advertising as hotly as any low Bolshevik hound like Heywood Broun or Mencken.

Mr. Earnest Elmo Calkins, a man who manages to combine a successful advertising agency with a curiously detached and philosophical view of advertising as a whole, says (I quote by permission) in the February 6 issue of *Advertising and Selling:*

Honest advertising as well as our new cult of hero worship received a black eye last week when, in the same newspapers that carried the story of the America's thrilling rescue of the Florida's crew, appeared the half-page advertisement of Lucky Strikes, wherein Captain Fried is depicted as giving great credit to the cigarette for the part it played in the rescue. This was followed later by an even more fulsome testimonial from Chief Officer Manning.

When I say "honest advertising," I mean just that. No question is raised but that Captain Fried signed the testimonial. It is even probable that he does smoke Lucky Strikes. But compare the style of the statement he is supposed to have made about the cigarette with that of his stark, restrained, unadjectived story of the rescue. The hand is the hand of Fried, but the text is the text of the American Tobacco Company.

"An S O S from the Florida! We change our course. We on the America strain to arrive in time to rescue the men on their sinking ship, 350 miles away. Through the icy, freezing storm and high seas we plunge on—all speed ahead! Then the night-time rescue, the search-lights, the whirling waves, the maneuvering to get near the Florida, Finally, the Florida's crew coming off one at a time, pulling themselves through the water on the line our men had thrown them.

"These men, dazed, many half clothed, needed reviving after their long exposure. Hot coffee, food, and *Lucky Strikes*—these gave new life to many of them and we on board the America, crew and passengers alike, found after the strain and struggle that there was nothing quite so comforting and relaxing as the inviting, toasted flavor of *Lucky Strikes.*

"Playing this game with 'Davy' is ever fascinating, ever thrilling. And we who follow the sea must be ever ready for adventure. Ours is an active life, demanding nerve control and physical fitness. In my health program I have found that *Luckies* are most important not only because they provide a respite for frazzled nerves and an exhausted body, but because whenever I crave anything which is over-fattening, I say to myself, 'Reach for a *Lucky* instead of a sweet.' In the toasted flavor of *Luckies,* I get complete satisfaction. And I find that toasting, by removing the irritants, protects my throat.

"GEORGE FRIED,
"Commander of S. S. *America.*"

I have no doubt Messrs. Fried and Manning received handsome checks for their services. I certainly hope so. I also hope Boatswain's Mate Aloys A. Wilson got his. There is plenty of precedent. We are accustomed to find that our heroes have feet of clay. So far only Colonel Lindbergh has spurned the seductions of the testimonial hound.

But testimonials like these, which reveal even to the gullible, unthinking public that they are not unsolicited, spontaneous tributes, but written and paid for by the advertiser, are undermining the belief of the public in all advertising.

I was glad to read just as this was being written that Captain Fried's superiors had thought better of their plan to send him on a lecture tour to advertise the

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United States Lines; for that was at least in as questionable taste as hiring him to puff a cigarette. Doubtless public opinion expressed itself emphatically though no echo of it reached the newspapers nor any comment on the Lucky Strike advertisement. The newspapers were promptly stopped by the receipt of half-page copy.

I have also ventured into the borders of this advertising Arcadia. Less than two months ago a really charming boy who is the son of the president of a great pencil-manufacturing house came confidently to me with proof of an advertisement, already set up and illustrated with my not peculiarly attractive countenance. In it I was made to say that I was writing my new novel with a So-and-So pencil—I who so constantly use a typewriter that it is only with an infantile script that I sign letters.

He was apparently astonished that I did not give my sanction to the publication of this advertisement.

Then there was the radio company who would put one of their infernal machines in my house free if I would permit them to photograph it there and to caption the photograph modestly, "The X and Y radio in the country house of Mr. Sinclair Lewis." The particular joke about it was that my "country house" was one which I had rented for the summer, and which belonged to me about as much as does the Palais de Fontainebleau.

Had I accepted their generous gift, my Country House and My Radio in My Country House would still be shown all over the country, as are the X and Y radios in the palatial Country Houses of the other writers and illustrators who consented to trade honor for a damned radio.

And let us remember the kindly agency which, if I would consent to say nice words about the breakfast food which they were boosting, would have my portrait painted by one of the best hands in the country and, when they had finished using it, would actually present the picture to me, so that I might be inspired by having on the walls of the studio which I do not possess the beautifully limned portrait of a liar.

But worse than any comparatively honest paid advertising are the sunset wonders of publicity, whereby Lindbergh cannot become engaged without 110,000,000 people leeringly looking on; whereby that not unromantic figure, Queen Marie, was turned into a clown; whereby the judicial murder of our murderers holds daily the front page, so that in our drawing-rooms, between the radio and the current *Saturday Evening Post,* we may vicariously—in these Vicarious States of America—enjoy the thrill of walking bravely to the hot seat and being burned.

For this is perhaps our greatest improvement over Europe; not our electric irons nor our concrete skyscraper construction, but our changing of the ancient right of privacy so that the most secret and perhaps agonized thoughts of any human being are the property now of any swine who cares to read about them.

Mad—gone mad! God help these romantic and free States when, after paying the bills of the bootlegger and Men's League of the Methodist Church, we can get the thrill that our pioneer grandfathers had daily only by reading of Chief Officer Manning's almost sacerdotal passion for Lucky Strike cigarettes.

Swan Song for Mr. Coolidge

By PAUL Y. ANDERSON

Washington, D. C., February 25

AS Congress staggers toward adjournment encumbered by one of the worst legislative jams in history, one can only marvel at the stupidity of the standpatters who stubbornly stave off action on the Norris constitutional amendment which would abolish lame-duck sessions. For, truly, they are the worst sufferers. They are in a majority. In an unlimited session they could always be reasonably sure of having their way. The chief characteristic of a lame-duck session is that it affords the minority an opportunity to frustrate the majority will by means of a filibuster. Yet the reactionary majority persists in keeping this weapon in the hands of its adversaries. If justice eventually triumphs it will be because of the biological law which ordains that the enemies of justice tend uniformly toward small hat sizes.

* * * * *

AFTER announcing that he favored a thorough Senate investigation of the Salt Creek oil fields, Senator Walsh has changed his mind and now advocates turning the entire inquiry over to the Department of Justice. This in spite of the fact that he has pending before the Senate a resolution censuring Dr. Work and Assistant Attorney-General Donovan for their handling of the Royalty Oil phase of the same matter. Senator Nye has made an ill-judged and feeble defense of the latter gentlemen, but he has at the same time insisted that the main field of the inquiry should not be abandoned in the pursuit of a side issue. Walsh has apparently been persuaded away from the Senate inquiry by Senators Kendrick and Pittman, Democrats, who have shown from the first an unaccountable determination to halt the inquiry at all costs. Obviously, the real question is not whether Dr. Work is a blundering incompetent or whether Colonel Donovan is a Republican politician. The real question is whether the United States was defrauded of a billion dollars' worth of property in Salt Creek, and if so whether it can be recovered. With this clearly in mind, the man whose conduct cannot be explained on the mere ground of bad judgment is Senator John B. Kendrick of Wyoming. It was he who foisted the venerable lame-duck reactionary, former Senator Sterling, on the committee as legal counsel. It is he who seeks to block a continuation of the inquiry now. Salt Creek is in his State. The Midwest Refining Company, whose leases on that huge government property are alleged to be based on fraud, is one of the principal corporate influences in Wyoming.

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DESPITE much glowing argument by the "Hoover boys" in the press gallery, this writer remains wholly unsold on the lofty motives and high purposes of the Presi-

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dent-elect, but is nevertheless happy to record certain facts which are distinctly to his credit. One is the very curious and interesting report that Mr. Hoover has chosen Justice Harlan F. Stone of the United States Supreme Court as his principal adviser. He could go twice as far and fare ten times worse. Any question that may be raised concerning the propriety of Justice Stone occuping such a role will leave me entirely unmoved. Why shouldn't he? Since the President must have counsel, why not seek it from a source that is above reproach? The next most encouraging sign from Mr. Hoover was the offer of the Attorney-Generalship to Senator Borah. The cynics will say—they are saying—that Hoover knew when he offered it that Borah wouldn't accept. But the fact of the offer stands. If the distance from John Garibaldi Sargent up to Borah actually measures the difference between the aspirations of Coolidge and Hoover, there is yet hope. Incidentally, Borah might have done well to accept. In Cabinet meetings his voice would carry weight, he might well set the general tone of the administration. In the Senate he can only continue to be what he is now—the most sublime and tragic example of futility in public life. Perhaps his brightest hope lies in starting life anew as a Cabinet officer. But since he seems determined to decline, and since Hoover seems willing to recognize merit in filling this particular position, why hesitate at choosing the man most obviously qualified for it? In conducting the litigation to recover the Government's oil reserves, Owen J. Roberts exhibited a quality of legal ability and a level of character which commanded universal admiration. He is a Republican and he is likewise from Pennsylvania. What more does Mr. Hoover want—or does he want something less?

* * * * *

THE general average of Coolidge appointments probably has been lower than that of any President since Grant. Certainly it has been lower than Harding's. Indeed, the chief element of popular strength in the Coolidge Cabinet—consisting of Hughes, Hoover, and Mellon—was inherited from Harding. It has seemed at times that Mr. Coolidge must keep a list of the most completely discredited men in public life in order that he might offer them important appointments as fast as vacancies came along. Gaze at the list—Kellogg, Sargent, Work, Wilbur, Humphrey, Myers, Warren, Sterling, and West, to mention only a few. That Mr. Coolidge's conscience remains untroubled in the closing days of his term is plain. With a final defiant gesture he names Irvine Lenroot and Henry Glassie to high judicial posts. Lenroot's principal recommendation is the fact that after being overwhelmingly repudiated by his own constituents, he accepted a $20,000 fee to represent the power trust before a Senate committee, in an effort to avert an investigation. Glassie's credentials are even more imposing. While a member of the Tariff Commission he insisted on sitting upon cases in which his wife had a financial interest, and when the matter came to an issue he cast the deciding vote in favor of his own participation. From this glaring impropriety he was eventually restrained only by a Congressional resolution penalizing him with loss of salary. Subsequently the Senate denied confirmation when he was reappointed. Notoriously violent, prejudiced, and opinionated, this man is now nominated to a life job on the bench of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia! Picture him trying the case of a man charged with contempt of the Senate!

* * * * *

IN the latter connection, it is significant to note that Roberts and Pomerene have just exploded one of the pet alibis advanced by that great oil patriot, Colonel Robert W. Stewart. In refusing to testify before the Senate committee exploring the nefarious history of the Continental Trading Company, Colonel Stewart made a great show of virtue by declaring that he expected to give his testimony for the Government in the pending criminal trial of Harry Sinclair. "As a citizen" he felt that "that is the place to give this testimony." Roberts and Pomerene, who conducted the prosecution, now declare that Stewart never gave them any information which would have assisted the Government in prosecuting Sinclair; that, on the contrary, he lied to them and to the grand jury about his knowledge of the Continental Liberty bonds, and that only the statute of limitations prevented them from seeking his indictment on a perjury count. Meantime, Stewart continues to issue appeals to his stockholders for reelection as chairman of the board of directors of the Standard Oil of Indiana, "on the ground," as Senator Norris points out, "that he has been robbing the public for ten years, and will continue to do so if continued in office."

* * * * *

SECRETARY MELLON has not abandoned his fight for secrecy in tax refunds. The first deficiency bill, carrying Senator McKellar's publicity amendment, seems definitely lost in conference. It is significant that the House leaders, in including in the second deficiency bill the appropriation of $75,000,000 sought by Mr. Mellon for additional refunds, *did not* include the McKellar amendment. In short, they are trying to give the saintly Secretary the money without the annoying publicity. There is a very plausible theory current here that Mr. Mellon desires to remain in office under Hoover only long enough to give back to the war profiteers the excess-profits taxes taken from them by the Wilson Administration. At the rate he is going, he should be able to clean the matter up fairly well in another year. Whether his zeal in that direction will produce a deficit for the current year will soon be determined. If pending appropriation bills pass, a deficit of $150,000,000 can be anticipated. But that depends upon whether Mellon's estimate of the revenues is accurate. In past years he has been able to make himself a national hero on the strength of his own bad arithmetic.

ESSAY PRIZE

April 1, 1929, is the closing date for the receipt of the 3,600-words essay on the subject of "What Is Making for War with England?" in The Nation's *$150 prize competition. For full details of the competition see the issue of January 23 or address Prize Essay Editor,* The Nation. *The judges who will award this prize are, in addition to the Editor of* The Nation, *Professor Charles A. Beard, Willmott H. Lewis, Washington correspondent of the London* Times, *and Norman Thomas.*

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Is There a Power Trust?

By MERRYLE STANLEY RUKEYSER

THE first big push since the election of Herbert Hoover has come in the power and light industry, whose shares advanced more than half as much in January as in the whole of 1928. Ostensibly a publicly supervised industry, in which commissions limit income to 8 per cent on the property investment, public-utility shares have shown more fantastic advances than uncontrolled industrial stocks. Three incidents quickened the newest mass impulse to acquire power and light common stocks.

In the first place, the outcome of the election dissipated vague fears that political blockades might check the aggressive advances which the great systems of holding companies have been making under a reign of laissez faire. The victory of "individualism" as a philosophy for economic development, which was read into the Hoover election, released the energies of public-utility promoters, and stirred the imagination of small capitalists and their proxies, the managers of the ever-increasing array of investment trusts. The immediate signal that the time had come to get aboard the utilities—the second incident—was the formation by J. P. Morgan and Company and associates of the United Corporation, a new institution for investing in utility securities. The active entrance of America's principal investment banking firm was looked upon as an indication that the nascent power industry had come of age.

A third psychologically significant development was the announcement by the Pennsylvania Railroad of its intention to electrify its line from New York to Wilmington, Delaware. This specific indication of the feasibility of an important new use for electricity captivated the minds of speculators, who readily discounted the ultimate possibility of universal electrification of American railroads. Even if the eventuality should fail to materialize, the average trader hopes to be able to resell his stock at a profit to some one even more optimistic than himself.

Although still a young industry, the power and light industry has recently emerged from the pioneer stage, in which the great "super-power" systems were being laid out. Today the general outline for distribution of the spoils has been made out, and through gentleman's agreements the great holding companies, in their newer expansion, show a disposition to avoid poaching.

Does this imply that there is a power trust in the United States? In accordance with the Norris Senate resolution, the Federal Trade Commission made an elaborate inquiry to find the answer to this question. In its report to the Sixty-ninth Congress in February, 1927, the commission indicated that the power magnates were good little boys in so far as compliance with the anti-trust laws was concerned. The special purpose of the investigation was to ascertain whether the General Electric power interests constituted a monopoly. C. W. Hunt, chairman, in his letter of transmittal, said:

> While no other single interest equaled these percentages of the total industry, two of the largest groups (North American and Insull) were not very far behind, and the various large holding companies taken together had several times the importance of the total General Electric interests. Moreover, the isolated companies in the aggregate were about one and one-half times as large as the General Electric group. Most of the General Electric interest in the electric-power group was tied up in the Electric Bond and Share Company, and if that may now be regarded as separated, the remaining portion is much smaller than many large holding-company groups.

In December, 1924, the General Electric Company gave away the Electric Bond and Share Company as a special dividend to its own stockholders.

In this report, Mr. Hunt called attention to financial abuses, which will be examined in detail in the new investigation now under way.

> One of the problems of public interest concerning some of the large electric-power groups is the extreme degree to which "pyramiding" has been carried on in superimposing a series of holding companies over the underlying operating companies so that in one instance less than a million-dollar investment in the majority of the voting stock of the apex holding company gave in 1925 full control of the entire organization of the group, having scores of underlying companies and several hundred million dollars of investment. Such pyramiding not only affects the financial stability of the electric-power industry, but also has a potential relation to the more general question of an undue concentration of control in the electric-power industry. As the extensive grouping of electric-power companies often brings their business into the field of interstate commerce, it presents a problem that calls for legislative consideration by Congress.

The current investigation of the Federal Trade Commission, besides reexamining the question of a tendency toward monopoly, will be concerned primarily with the financial set-up of operating companies and holding companies. As an indication of its forthcoming revelations, the subjoined reference in the earlier report seems timely:

> Thus by this system of pyramiding the Standard Gas and Electric Company, with an investment of less than $5,000,000 in the class B stock of the Northern States Power Company of Delaware and of $2,000,000 of preferred stock of the Northern States Power Company of Wisconsin, controls an investment of approximately $200,000,000.

As the public utility map now stands, the territory of the United States is divided largely among ten main groups —the Electric Bond and Share group, including the affiliated holding companies, the Stone and Webster group, the Byllesby group, the Hodenpyl-Hardy group, the Cities Service or Doherty group, the Barstow group, the White group, the North American Company, the Insull group, and the United Gas and Improvement group.

According to the best trade estimates, there are now 4,063 operating properties, which generated 83,100,000,000 kilowatt-hours in 1928, served 23,400,400 customers, lighted

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19,012,700 homes and 3,375,600 commercial establishments, and furnished more than 1,000,000 customers with power and miscellaneous service. These properties last year revealed a combined gross income of $1,908,900,000, and paid out $791,600,000 in operating expenses and about $175,000,000 in taxes. An increase during 1928 in capital investment brought the total for the power and light industry up to $10,300,000,000, about half that of all the steam railways. In addition to domestic generation, the country imported 1,600,000,000 kilowatt-hours from Canada, chiefly from the territory near Niagara Falls.

The widespread tendency toward mergers reduced the number of operating systems last year by 387. According to the *Electrical World,* there are now 2,153 private systems and 1,910 municipal systems. However, only 6 per cent of the population is served by municipally owned plants, which have 5 per cent of the installed capacity in the United States.

At this stage in the midst of the rough-and-tumble growth of the industry, it is difficult to stand aside and judge the social usefulness of the colossal expansion of central stations and high-tension transmission lines. Dogmatists of one school will readily assert that the development would have been more orderly and more economical under governmental or municipal ownership. They will support their contentions by citing the experience in the Canadian Province of Ontario, where electric rates are substantially lower than in the United States. And to these assertions the right wing will have glib replies. They will point to the foresight, energy, and patience shown by promoters in developing electrical systems in advance of general economic growth, especially in the Southwest and West. They will rest their case on the solid achievements of the industry in using power to raise the general standard of living and to relieve manual workers of the sweat and groan of old-fashioned labor.

A pressing political problem is the question of federal regulation of public utilities. Professor William Z. Ripley has advocated the change. The argument is that the great holding companies overrun State boundaries and transcend State regulatory authority. About 10 per cent of the power consumed is now sold across State lines. The power companies, on the whole, satisfied with the present character of State regulation, oppose federal regulation. They insist that, as long as State commissions fix the rates charged by operating companies, consumers are protected from exploitation. They point to the analogy of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and contend that another such agency would tend to stifle initiative and retard progress through the creation of endless red tape. Nevertheless, many observers believe that federal regulation is coming. Thus far, the investor, rather than the consumer of light and power service, has been subject to exploitation by unregulated holding companies.

Undoubtedly, the rapid expansion of public-utility companies has imposed great burdens on the regulatory commissions, which need to improve their technique and their personnel. Many competent commissioners have been taken away by utility companies, which offered far larger salaries. It has been pointed out that this practice constitutes an invisible quasi system of bribery, which distorts the viewpoint of commissioners. In practice, however, numerous commissioners have discharged their function competently and honestly. To prevent such sniping, public bodies should be authorized to pay the market wage for talent.

The essential problem for the objective student is to decide whether to judge the public-utility movement by its main substance—or by its excrescences. One or another public-utility executive or promoter has done all the acts of commission and omission known in the liturgy of shady finance and objectionable business practice. But the expansion of the American power and light industry has a more significant meaning. The major personalities of the power and light industry helped to revolutionize American life by placing an unprecedented array of outside power at the elbow of the American workingman. Accordingly, in spite of the numerous abuses in capital set-ups, in dirty propaganda methods, and perhaps in reluctance to reduce rates, the creative leaders of the power industry have done more than their share in laying the economic foundations for a higher standard of living, in which, despite continuing inequities, the material comforts of life are diffused more widely than ever before. This development has proceeded at a prodigious rate since the war, largely because capital for such exploitation became more abundant than in the past. It is less than forty-seven years since Thomas A. Edison paved the way for a new industry with the invention of the incandescent lamp and the central power-station.

The secret of the superior productivity of the American workingman is explained by the fact that there is roughly four times as much power behind him as behind the British worker. In the decade following the entrance of the United States into the Great War, the output of American factories increased from 30 to 35 per cent, despite only a 16 per cent growth in population. An explanation of the higher earning power of American workers lies in the increased use of mechanical or electrical power to supplement the efforts of human beings. In 1869 1.14 horse-power per wage earner was employed, in 1919 3.24 h.-p., and in 1927, 4.7 h.-p. Of this, 3.5 h.-p. consists of electrical energy. The industry has been preeminent in developing a new technique for substituting electrical current for human drudgery in the factory and in the home.

Even those who concede the economic usefulness of the rapid extension of power and light facilities to urban and gradually of late to rural sections, raise the question whether rates have not been exorbitant. Generalization will be futile, for conditions vary enormously. For example, in Cleveland, with its accessibility to the coal mines, the cost of producing and distributing power is less than in New York. The American rate-making philosophy has tended to subsidize industry and to penalize the domestic family user. Of the aggregate output of electrical energy in 1928, 55 per cent was employed for power purposes by industry, whereas lighting brought in 56 per cent of the total revenue. Ontario has followed precisely the reverse course. It has given domestic users a low rate, and made up the difference by higher charges on industry. Of course, the Canadian provinces are favored with extraordinary power facilities. Proximity to water-power and the steadiness of the demand for current on the part of wood-pulp and other mills make for ideal operating conditions, and the benefits are reflected in rates far below the American standards both in Ontario,

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where government ownership prevails, and in Quebec, where private operation predominates.

Public utilities in the United States are regulated monopolies, and are also protected industries. The federal courts have laid down the rule that they are entitled to 8 per cent on their investment in property. Accordingly, if they elected, the utilities could exact very high rates from household users and make no efforts to get additional business through stimulating industry. Enlightened self-interest, however, encourages them to build up the communities which they serve, thus getting the benefits of quantity business and a steady load factor. Though the utilities have a virtual monopoly in supplying householders, they are in active competition in serving industry. They must not only compete with steam plants and with oil, but also compete with the alternative under which large industrial concerns can generate their own electricity.

Thus, although virtually monopolies and though safeguarded by the 8 per cent rule of law, the utilities are goaded into competitive enterprise in the search for industrial patronage. The utilities argue that householders benefit because even though industries get a lower rate they help bring down the cost to domestic users, who otherwise would alone have to sustain an 8 per cent return. Moreover, they argue that the cost of distributing and billing current to householders on a retail scale is infinitely greater than that involved in serving large-scale industrial users. The family which includes a breadwinner employed in industry apparently participates in the benefits of the present policy, but the white-collar worker is taxed for dividends in which he does not directly participate.

At prevailing high prices, prudent companies, such as the Electric Bond and Share and the North American groups, are disposed to stand aside and develop their present domestic holdings, letting more optimistic newcomers pay fantastic prices for new properties. An existing system can, of course, frequently afford to pay a high price for a local property near its main interconnected transmission lines, for economies can be effected in heightening the demand for power without increasing the investment in plant and equipment by tying in additional communities to the spare capacity already built. An isolated operating company, which has stayed out of an interconnected or so-called super-power system, is uneconomical in that it necessarily has a large unproductive reserve capacity to take care of emergency breakdowns and occasional peak loads. The investor needs especially to be warned against newer companies, which advertise that they operate in many communities in numerous States. If the communities are too scattered to permit the economies of interconnection, the alleged economies inherent in the grouping may be looked upon largely as window-dressing.

Never before has the holding company won greater acceptance on the part of the investing public. The holding company is not only an instrument for facilitating interconnection (although some financially unaffiliated companies have tied in together) but it is also a means of ready diversification of investment risks, a reservoir of capital for nursing along new developments, and a device for pooling among a great many operating companies a staff of engineering, operating, and financial experts, which independent small companies could not readily afford to maintain.

In the Driftway

THE Drifter read with interest and admiration the editorial in last week's *Nation* on Beauty as a Career, provoked by the death of Lily Langtry. Yet he does not find himself in entire agreement with it. It is too typical of the popular attitude toward beauty, which regards it with a good deal of envy, not much justice, and a little malice; which assumes that the possessor is more than anybody else indebted to good luck and destined to enjoy a sure and easy success. The writer of the editorial says of Lily Langtry: "She was beautiful. That was enough to gain her entree to the innermost circles of English society, to the Prince of Wales himself. . . . The Madame de Staëls of the world have to work for their reward; . . . the Lily Langtrys need only sit back and smile."

* * * * *

THE Drifter guesses that the writer of those sentences was an avid reader of Sunday-school books and fairy stories in childhood, and has never quite got over it. There is a general tendency to give people credit for intelligence, charm, wit, or capability but to say condescendingly of one who is beautiful: "Oh that's just luck." To be beautiful one has, of course, to be born with beauty. But that which makes a person intelligent or charming or witty or capable is just as much a natural endowment. The Drifter hasn't any wish to raise the question of how much of human destiny is due to heredity and how much to environment. His guess is that about a third may be assigned to each and the rest to that blind chance which plays with each of us from his swaddling clothes to his winding sheet. Of the old doctrine of free-will the Drifter thinks there is not enough in any life to supply the filling for a lunch-counter sandwich.

* * * * *

BUT assuming that one deserves credit for intelligence or charm or wit or capability, isn't it true that one is entitled to just as much for beauty?—certainly where it exists after the thirtieth year. You never hear it said of a woman of forty that she is beautiful but dumb. Dumbness may live to a hale old age, but beauty doesn't stick by it. It takes intelligence, hard work, and self-control to maintain beauty. Without them one is likely to be fat and faded at thirty-two. Lily Langtry practiced all three or she could not have "married into one of the oldest families in England" at the age of forty-seven. And if it takes work to remain beautiful, it requires more to exploit beauty.

* * * * *

NO, there is a lot of injustice done to beauty. It's not so easy as it looks. There is, as the *Nation* editorial says, a career for beauty, but to succeed at it demands more than that one be born beautiful, just as surely as it requires more to become an eminent lawyer than to be awarded a degree as a bachelor of law. The Drifter's interpretation of the life of Lily Langtry is that she was a rarely intelligent and capable woman who would have succeeded with the face of Medusa and the figure of Old Mother Hubbard. Fortune having favored her with beauty besides, she became one of the most famous women of her day.

THE DRIFTER

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Correspondence

Letters to the Editor should ordinarily not exceed 500 words, and shorter communications are more likely to be printed. In any case the Editor reserves the right to abridge communications.

Red Rag

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Let's step aside and chuckle for a moment at the incongruity of human nature. Now, here's the editor of *The Nation,* a fair-minded fellow if ever there was one, as any of you will admit, but alas! like the rest of us, he has his complex. You have all heard of red rags to a bull, but did you ever know of a bull who dragged out his own red rag to inflame himself? Well, that's what the aforesaid editor does. Whenever he feels the need of a highball or a cocktail he just mentions the name of Woodrow Wilson to himself, and zip! how he does make whoopee and powwow!

A few weeks ago, just before the election, he had Woodrow Wilson starving the German babies in their cradles and Herbert Hoover "fighting like a tiger to feed them." Of course it was news to most of us that tigers ever fought very hard to feed babies, German or otherwise, but what's a pickled metaphor to the editor of *The Nation* when he has a chance to slur the memory of W. W.? But in the issue of February 13, page 178, he really surpasses himself. He blames Woodrow Wilson for the recent passage of the cruiser bill! He does not quite charge him with the total responsibility for the World War and all its consequences, though that's the implication. But there's no implication at all about the cruiser bill. Woodrow Wilson is held definitely responsible! I sometimes fear that the editor of *The Nation* has the same feeling toward Woodrow Wilson that I have toward vaccination, Al Jolson, "Parsifal," and "Strange Interlude."

Cleveland, February 10 Edmund Vance Cooke

Progressives and Labor

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Readers of *The Nation* will be interested to know that the New York Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy is cooperating in a movement to unite progressives in the labor and professional world in opposition to the reactionary leadership of Matthew Woll and his kind. John Dewey, A. J. Muste, and Morris Hillquit will speak on this new progressive venture at a luncheon at the Town Hall, New York, March 2 at 12:45, and all readers of *The Nation* are cordially invited.

New York, February 10 Benjamin Stolberg

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"What can one say . . except that its fantasy is delicious, its poetry exquisite, and that the images . . make one often catch one's breath with delight?"—*Nation.* $3.00

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by Lytton Strachey

". . merely the best book of (to be conservative) the 1928-1929 season . . a triumph of compression, a masterpiece of style."—*John Riddell* in *Vanity Fair.* $3.75

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Books and Art

When I Die

By MYLA FLETCHER

When I die,
Make me a handful of light ashes.
Do not cry.

Break earth's bars,
Fling what is left of me
Into stars.

This Week

Ante-Feminism

HERE in one volume* is contained a comprehensive course in housewifery, in its social and moral and technical aspects. The Goodman of Paris, who lived in the late fourteenth century, wrote directly out of the beliefs and customs of his time. There was no necessity for him to prove that women should make their homes the center of their emotional and practical lives, or that they should make a "profession" of housekeeping. The home had no competitor; it was not only woman's place, she had no other place to go—unless it was to a nunnery. And so the Goodman, a wealthy citizen of Paris who had rounded out sixty years of social and domestic experience, composed this treatise with no thought of propaganda; he wrote it as a piece of moral exhortation and practical advice for his wife, who was fifteen years old. His intent was to help her meet her responsibilities adequately and easily so that she might reflect credit on him—especially in the days to come when she would "serve another husband" or be required to teach wisdom to her "daughters, friends, or others. . . ."

The Goodman begins his discourse with chapters advising his young wife "To salute and thank God on waking and rising and to be suitably clad"; "To be suitably accompanied"; "To love God, serve Him, and keep within His grace"; "To keep continence and live chastely"; "To be loving to your husband"; "To be humble and obedient to your husband"; "To be careful and thoughtful for your husband's person (Good treatment; Of fleas; Of flies)"; "To be discreet"; and "To restrain your husband gently from his errors." It concludes with chapters on housekeeping: "To care for your household with diligence and perseverance"; "Of gardening"; "How to choose varlets, servants, and chambermaids and set them to work"; "How to order dinners and suppers"; "Ordering, devising, and causing to be made all manner of pottages, civeys, sauces, and all other viands." These chapter headings, however descriptive, fail to do justice to the variety and the infinite detail of the book. Every moral precept is accompanied by examples drawn from Scripture or the classics or the Goodman's own generous experience. Every household suggestion is backed up with elaborate recipes or minute instructions.

Thus the article on obedience to husbands is reinforced by "the tale of Griselda," "the woman who let her husband drown," the story "of a cousin of the author's wife," and other anecdotes edifying or horrible; while the domestic articles contain such concrete enlightenment as the following sentences to which I opened by chance:

> *Quaeritur* how the intestines [of a pig] shall be reversed to wash them; *responsio:* by a linen thread and a brass wire as long as a gauger's rod.
>
> *Note,* that some hang their pigs at Eastertide and the air yellows them; wherefore it is best to keep and salt them as they do in Picardy, although the flesh be not as firm, it seemeth; nathless bacon which is fair and white is much better to be served up than that which is yellow, for however good be the yellow, it is too much condemned and discourages one to look upon it.

The rich odors of roast pigling and English brewet, of sauces and pottages spiced and flavored with wine, steam out of these latter pages. Only lack of space prevents me from quoting a whole series of sample feasts which the Goodman minutely describes. What, I wonder as I read, has happened to the capacity and the digestion of the spare and abstemious generation to which I belong?

And what has happened to its capacity for absorbing moral instruction? The Goodman of Paris believes in codified morals; he lists the virtues and the sins—seven of each, he subdivides them, he shows his wife how to pick her way safely among temptations. In his discussion of her special duties as a woman, he is aware that he preaches a gospel of perfection, that all wives are not Griseldas or Susannas. But he knows what conduct is proper and virtuous. In the section devoted to thanking God and being suitably clad his instructions betray his disgust at less desirable ways:

> See that you be honestly clad, without new devices and too much frippery, or too little. And before you leave your chamber or house, see you first that the collar of your shift, and your blanchet, your robe or your surcoat straggle not forth one upon the other, as befalleth with certain drunken, foolish, or ignorant women, who have no regard for their honor, nor for the honesty of their estate or of their husbands, and go with roving eyes and head horribly reared up like unto a lion, their hair straying out of their wimples and the collars of their shifts and robes one upon the other, and walk mannishly and bear themselves uncouthly before folk without shame.

Eileen Power's translation of "The Goodman of Paris" accomplishes with great suavity and charm a task which must have presented innumerable technical difficulties. I have some doubt, however, whether her use of archaic English words and constructions serves any useful end. After all, she has not translated the Goodman's French into the English of his contemporaries; and, since this is so, I see no reason why it should not have been reduced to the English of today. Miss Power has introduced the treatise with an historical commentary which is almost as instructive and delightful as the Goodman's own words. Particularly effective are her comparative quotations from Chaucer and John Gardener and other writers of the period, showing in several instances amusing parallels and duplications even in matters of small detail.

FREDA KIRCHWEY

* "The Goodman of Paris. A Treatise on Moral and Domestic Economy by A Citizen of Paris (c. 1393)." Now first translated into English with an Introduction and Notes by Eileen Power. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $4.

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Utilitarian Evolution

The Growth of Philosophic Radicalism. By Elie Halévy. Translated by Mary Morris. The Macmillan Company. $8.50.

FOR over a quarter of a century every student of political philosophy has known M. Halévy's classical book. As an account of utilitarian evolution there has been nothing that could even pretend to rival it. Built upon a wide knowledge, not merely of the printed sources, but also of the mass of Bentham manuscripts at University College, London, it is an indispensable book. Mrs. Morris has translated it admirably, though I miss in her edition three of the four important appendices to the first volume of the French original. Dr. Everett has affixed to it a useful bibliography, though he misdates Mill's "Autobiography," and leaves out one or two important works which should have figured there. These are, of course, minor points. The essential thing is to have the book in excellent English. It ought to be widely read.

There are two things outstanding in M. Halévy's account of Benthamism. The first is his insistence on the action and reaction between French and English thought. We too little measure the consequence of Locke's naturalization upon the Continent. It made him a European influence so wide that, long after he was dead in England, he became, in a transmuted form, the parent of doctrines only in part recognizably his own. The second is his explanation of the effect of achievement in the physical sciences upon effort in the social realm. Men were so dazzled by the work of Newton that, like Bentham, they sought passionately for a social equivalent of the law of gravitation. They did not succeed; but the mere effort produced a quality of inventiveness in social theory which changed the face of England. All this M. Halévy relates with ample learning. He is admirable, too, in his account of the economic doctrines of the school. So much injustice has been done to the classical economists that it is important to have the stages of Manchesterism marked. When that is done, the degree of social conscience in the period from Smith to Ricardo becomes very striking. Manchesterism pure and indefiled is largely the intellectual creation of MacCulloch, with some help from Nassau Senior; and, even then, it is much grimmer in its application by business men than was intended by its protagonists.

One misses in M. Halévy a critical study of the excessive simplicity of Bentham and his followers, especially on the political side. His emphasis upon security, his contempt for natural rights, look much less obvious at a century's distance. Can there ever be security, in a long-time view, where there are excessive inequalities? Can there ever be equality except in a society prepared to admit that in the absence of certain fundamental conditions men cease to be men? It is worth while, too, to note that Godwin, with all his faults of character and psychology, seems to us, after the period from 1914, to have seen the grim nature of coercion much more truly than he appeared to M. Halévy to have done twenty-five years ago. I think, also, that he makes too little of the religious element in Burke's philosophy. There was, of course, a utilitarian in Burke; but there was also a Bossuet, seeing in title by prescription the inscrutable hand of Providence, and tending to regard disturbance of social arrangements as blasphemy.

Minor criticisms such as these do not, of course, detract from a very remarkable work. The real weakness of the book is on the personal side. Leslie Stephen's three volumes had nothing like the detailed learning of M. Halévy. But they had his incomparable gift of making people live. M. Halévy makes one see the significance of ideas, the nuances of their evolution, their exact interrelations. But we do not in his book, as we do in Stephen's, live again in Queen Square Place or Ford Abbey. He lacks the delicate eye for personality that Stephen possessed. His book, accordingly, powerful as it is, supplements rather than replaces, Stephen's. To know what the Philosophic Radicals were like, one must still go to Stephen. And the more intimately one knows them, the more remarkable they appear. A dozen new doctrinaires with their patience, their devotion, and their knowledge could still change the face of England.

HAROLD J. LASKI

Walter H. Page—Publicist

The Training of an American. The Earlier Life and Letters of Walter H. Page, 1855-1913. By Burton J. Hendrick. Houghton Mifflin Company. $5.

MR. HENDRICK'S excuse for writing biography in reverse order is that the abundance of the material for the life of Page as Ambassador to Great Britain forced him, in the two volumes previously published, to reduce to "the merest sketch" the record of the preceding fifty-eight years. The present volume, which restores the balance, affords for the first time a broad and somewhat detailed view of Page's intellectual preparation for the important role which fell to him in the Great War. Until politics claimed him, Page was first a student and then a journalist, eventually adding to journalism an active interest in education, particularly in the South. At Johns Hopkins, where he was one of the twenty Fellows with which the university started, he worked for a time in the Greek seminar under Gildersleeve; then, after a visit to Germany, he lectured on English literature for a few weeks at the State University of North Carolina, presently exchanging that post for a high-school appointment at Louisville, Kentucky. The exactions and restrictions of a minute scholarship, however, had for him no charm, and he early planned for himself a career in periodical literature. In January, 1879, he brought out at Louisville the first number of a short-lived weekly which he sought to model somewhat upon the plan of *The Nation*. *The Nation*, as he then described it, was "Republican in politics and infidel in religion," but "it is worth a million dollars and it has made it since the war," and "the Democrats and the South and Christian people will support a similar publication if it be Democratic and religious in its line, if it suits their views."

An advertisement in *The Nation*, late in 1879, won him a job as editorial writer on the St. Joseph, Missouri, *Gazette*. A year and a half later he was doing well financially with a kind of syndicate writing; in 1881 he joined the staff of the New York *World*, only to resign with others in 1883 when the paper was sold to Joseph Pulitzer. "Gentlemen," Pulitzer is quoted as saying to the editorial group, "you realize that a change has taken place in the *World*. Heretofore you have all been living in the parlor and taking baths every day. Now I wish you to understand that, in future, you are all walking down the Bowery." A discouraging effort to raise the cultural tone of his native State, North Carolina, was followed by an editorial connection with the Brooklyn *Union*, during which time he wrote often for *The Nation*, and from the *Union* he went for a few months to the *Evening Post*. In 1887 he abandoned daily journalism to become business manager and, later, editor of the *Forum*, passed from there in 1895 to the editorship of the *Atlantic*, and ended by becoming a member, at the beginning of 1900, of the firm of Doubleday, Page and Company.

Page's influence as a publicist dates particularly from his editorship of the *Forum*. Mr. Hendrick frankly admits that he was in some ways "a difficult editor." "He was no respecter

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of names or reputations; in considering the publication of literary matter, he thought of nothing except its value at the time." He believed firmly that "the greatest expression of the human spirit is literature, and the greatest literature is that written in the English language"; he was equally convinced that literature could flourish in an industrial democracy; but the literature that he desired must be "salubrious," and he once allowed himself to declare that Poe "belongs to the decadence from beginning to end," although he took up the cudgel for Poe later when the admission of Poe to the Hall of Fame was noisily opposed.

The richest parts of the present volume, as of those which have preceded it, are Page's letters. If Page had never published an article or a book, but had confined himself to letter-writing, he would by that fact alone have established himself securely in American literature once the letters had seen the light. Covering a wide range of interests, always graceful, never formal though pervadingly serious, and hardly ever inconsequent, his letters show better than anything else his intellectual activity and acuteness, his great capacity for friendship, and in general a breadth of view toward public affairs that makes it difficult to understand how he could later have surrendered so easily to British war propaganda. One would like to know more than Mr. Hendrick tells us of Page's political activities behind the scenes, but even with this limitation the story of Page's earlier life is told by Mr. Hendrick in admirable fashion, and the work which he has now completed will unquestionably stand as one of the best examples of American biography.

WILLIAM MACDONALD

A Romantic Foray

Victory. By Ricarda Huch. Translated from the German by Catherine Alison Phillips. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

THE second volume of Ricarda Huch's epic of the *risorgimento* is now available. "Defeat," the first volume, ended with the collapse of the Roman republic, Garibaldi's flight, and the death of his wife; it covered the years 1848-1849. "Victory," the second part, tells of the March of the Thousand, and the conquest of Sicily and Naples. It concludes with the death of Garibaldi's emulator, Cavour, and the disaster of Garibaldi's enterprise against Rome. It ends in disillusion and humiliation. The very fact that a triumphant peroration by the author brings the book to its end at a time when the hero experiences his greatest disappointment, indicates that a biography in the ordinary sense was never intended.

The book is composed of an extremely rich mosaic of short scenes, conversations, and descriptions, introduced at the expense of the plot. These scenes of high plasticity, molded from Italian every-day life, are intended to convey the metaphysical significance of Garibaldi to the people. The German original bears the subtitle: "Stories about Garibaldi." These stories are connected by a quiet and objective rendering of the historical happenings. Throughout, ecstatic passages of high rhetorical beauty are interspersed, where Fate, Italy, or the author addresses the hero. From these various roots Ricarda Huch's Garibaldi springs. It is inevitable that such a book should be misunderstood by contemporary readers.

Ricarda Huch has always been a romantic at heart. In her present epic the dry and historically exact descriptions of political events, as well as the directness and even naivete of her dramatic moments, from their various strata are intended to create the vision of the superhuman, the immortal Garibaldi. This vision, and not the creation of a psychologically true portrait of the man, is the author's aim. In order to impress her vision of the ideal Garibaldi upon the reader, she treats the historical facts with the utmost reverence. The truer and closer to the facts she remains, the stronger, she feels, will be the effect of her magic.

The English translation is not beyond reproach. But even judged from its own standard, the book has its shortcomings. It would seem that Ricarda Huch's detailed knowledge of history weakened the momentum of her romantic foray. Her scholarship makes her place speeches in people's mouths which cause one to suspect that they were transplanted from actual letters. But though the author does not completely succeed in combining spirit and matter—in combining the vision of her hero with the dust of his days—her attempt is noteworthy in the history of biography.

WALTER KIEN

The Drama of New France

The Rise and Fall of New France. By George M. Wrong. Two volumes. The Macmillan Company. $10.50.

THE main lines in the drama of New France have been struck out once for all by Francis Parkman, and the modern writer, while he may correct details or fill in the gaps, no longer has a free and unlimited field. But Parkman's numerous volumes form too large a mass for the ordinary reader to be expected to digest. Consequently these two volumes from the pen of Professor Wrong, for many years head of the department of history in the University of Toronto and the author of many books upon various phases of Canadian history, should find ready acceptance by those who are interested in the present Dominion, in the history of the colonial period, or simply in a good story.

While omitting nothing essential to the continuity of the narrative, the author covers the whole period antecedent to 1763 in quite sufficient detail. He occupies his first volume with a sketch of the initial stages of European colonization, devotes a good deal of space to the explorers and founders of New France, and then proceeds to give an account of the Jesuit martyrs, of the struggle with the Iroquois, and of the discovery of the interior of the continent.

The second volume is concerned mainly with the story of the great duel for empire between the English and French. It was probably inevitable that two such contrasted cultures as English and French, Puritan—or at least Protestant—and Catholic, popular and autocratic, should have had to fight out the issue. Yet how tenacious the Latin culture is and how near it came to victory "The Rise and Fall of New France" goes to show. The flexibility of the French nature, evidenced in relations with the Indians, the imaginative heights of its soaring scheme for the domination of the interior of the continent, and above all the exceedingly close decision of the campaigns of 1759 and 1760, all these demonstrate that in spite of numbers English supremacy was no foregone conclusion.

In his account of the wars and their culmination the author is on familiar ground and is at his best. He has an eye for the picturesque and a sympathetic insight into the aims and hopes of both parties. Exceptions, however, may be taken to some of his statements. It was not in 1756, as he says, but in 1754 that Coulon de Villiers defeated George Washington. There was no paradox in the French governors being naval officers, for it was the Department of the Marine which administered Canada and it naturally sent out its own men. Ticonderoga, before which Lord Howe was killed in 1758, can hardly be called "an obscure skirmish." Admiral Conflans was not waiting in Quiberon Bay when attacked by Hawke but had been chased there by that sea-dog.

In the sections of the book which treat of the Indians and life in the wilderness Mr. Wrong does not appear to as

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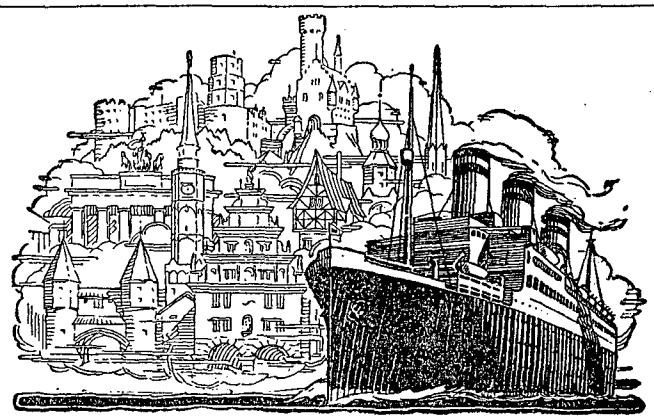

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good advantage as when dealing with soldiers and statesmen. He writes from the study chair and seems to accept at their face value many of the descriptions of perils and hardships which a critical spirit or personal experience would lead him to discard. Comfortable old Father Charlevoix, for example, coasting along Lake Erie in a good canoe, with good men and no doubt all the luxuries of the age, interjects into his narrative some hardships—and where would the missionary be without his hardships—among which the dangers from trees falling in the forest during a storm are not the least. The author appears to allow the good father to impose on him, as he in his turn was imposed upon by his men, and incorporates this danger into the text. There were enough real terrors in the forest in those days in the shape of lurking savages without introducing the unreal terrors of a barrage of falling trees.

But these are minor points. It is a good story which Professor Wrong has to tell and on the whole, although his style falters here and there and he inserts some commonplace incidents from European history which could well be omitted, he tells that story well.

ARTHUR LOWER

Main Street Is Dying

The American Community in Action. By Jesse Frederick Steiner. Henry Holt. $3.

SINCE Sinclair Lewis wrote "Main Street," no American novelist has deliberately occupied himself with the small town. Others besides Glenway Wescott are bent on saying goodby to their Wisconsins. Neither physically nor contemplatively do they return to the small town unless, like Sherwood Anderson, they are so easily stimulated by sensuous objects that the very memory of a small town's tempo, its habitual uneventfulness and occasional hot incident, is fascinating. There is reason enough for this indifference on the part of American writers, for the small town is America at its most stagnant point. It was only by accident that even the sociologists, who are more patient and comprehending about human slugs than anyone else is likely to be, have focused their attention on our cultural hinterland and one is inclined to applaud the accident. Unfortunately there is, as yet, no great reason for applause.

"The American Community in Action," a textbook written by Professor Frederick Jesse Steiner of Tulane University and his students, recounts the history of twenty farming, lumbering, mining, and cotton-mill towns. Two facts this work makes very clear. The first is that Main Street is dying. One-third of the towns in the United States, which have less than 2,500 population, have decreased in size since the last census and the remainder are not growing. Professor Steiner explains this phenomenon by referring to industrialism. One suspects that the automobile is chiefly to blame and that individual airplane ownership, when it comes, will finally blight all but the largest shopping centers of the country districts. The second fact is that, almost without exception, civil war rages in these towns. Sometimes it is war between the old Americans and the later immigrants, sometimes it is war between a distinct economic class like the cotton-mill operatives and the rest of the townsfolk. Of the twenty towns described by Professor Steiner's students only three are prosperous. Six are declining economically and culturally, and seven are so torn by bitter factional feeling that they cannot forget their differences long enough to act together when confronted with a genuine crisis.

If Professor Steiner and his students had centered their attention on factions, and on the Klan in particular, they might have written a book with as wide an appeal as Nels Anderson's "The Hobo" or Frederick Thrasher's "The Gang." Given such a book we might understand the Hoover landslide much more precisely than we do at present. Perhaps in their next attack on the small town the Tulanites will tell us who the leaders of the Klan are and what the town knows about the personal lives of these patriots. Are they perhaps of the same masochist-sadist genre as the hero of Heinrich Mann's novel "The Patriot," who needed very much to look up to some all-wise and all-powerful being, and who needed just as much to have inferiors whom he could dominate and abuse? Do our Klan patriots feel this way about Coolidge and the Catholics?

If Professor Steiner needed a sociological frame-work for a book on the Klan, he might call it a study in understimulaton. For man lives not by bread alone; he also lives by excitement. Primitive peoples sometimes succeed in attaining the emotional intensity necessary to make life worth living by the dynamics of liquor and sex. These Main Streeters drink stupidly and love tawdrily. Perhaps this may explain in some degree the extravagance of their religious and political orgies.

WINIFRED RAUSHENBUSH

Administrative Law

Administrative Powers over Persons and Property. Ernst Freund. University of Chicago Press. $5.

THIS complete and exhaustive book will be one of the foundations of our system of administrative law, when lawyers and publicists discover that we have one. That may take another generation. In the meanwhile boards and commissions and executive officers will continue to exercise the large and increasing set of powers which Professor Freund here sets forth, precisely as such bodies do in France and Germany where a body of doctrine and practice called administrative law has long been differentiated, its problems realistically studied, and a profitable field of legal experimentation properly recognized.

Professor Freund's study has the solidity of the German treatises from which he derives his comparative material. Some will regret that it is there rather than in the corresponding French books that he has sought it. It is doubtful whether any German discussion of these topics has quite the brilliance or the authority of the work of Jèze, Hauriou, or Berthélemy. Still the book is already a long book and a hard one, and it is not reasonable to ask the author to make it longer and harder.

The absence of a recognized discipline of administrative law in the United States will be more seriously felt when Professor Freund comes to deal—as I hope he soon will—with administrative responsibilities. It is there that Continental examples may some day humanize and enlighten our preposterous development of the medieval maxim, *rex non potest peccare.*

MAX RADIN

Books in Brief

Prima Donna. By Pitts Sanborn. Longmans, Green and Company. Two volumes. $5.

Mr. Sanborn, a music critic by profession, presumably knows his prima donnas and his intention has apparently been to give an idea of what the career of an American representative of the type is likely to be. Helma Seymore, born in a typical Middle Western environment, is discovered by a singing teacher, sent to New York, and finally reaches the heights of fame after many vicissitudes in provincial opera in Europe.

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About equal stress is laid upon the development of Helma's character and upon a description of the operatic world as seen from behind the curtain. Mr. Sanborn writes an easy and competent narrative, but the interest of the book depends upon the author's obviously thorough knowledge of his subject rather than upon the display of any conspicuously original literary gifts.

John Bunyan: A Study in Personality. By G. B. Harrison. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.

The Life and Writings of John Bunyan. By Harold E. B. Speight. Harper and Brothers. $2.

The Pilgrim's Progress. Anniversary Edition. Rae D. Henkle Company. $5.

All three of these volumes were called forth by the Bunyan centenary. Mr. Harrison, a lecturer in the University of London, writes with something of the coldness of a man to whom the puritanism of his subject has little attraction; Mr. Speight, of Dartmouth College, with the air of one rather anxiously apologetic. Neither study adds much of importance to our knowledge of Bunyan, but both are competent expositions. The anniversary edition of "Pilgrim's Progress" is illustrated with fourteen somberly beautiful etchings by William Strang.

The Electric Word: The Rise of Radio. By Paul Schubert. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

If you have wasted hours in the small of the night listening to voices in San Francisco or some other distant point you will be interested by this book, for it is a non-technical story of the development of the radio from the discoveries of Hertz to the beginning of 1928. Mr. Schubert tells of one of the most interesting conflicts of radio history—the war of patents between the General Electric Company and the Radio Corporation of America, which had the patents on Langmuir's "pure electron discharge tube" and the American Telephone and Telegraph Company plus the Western Electric Company, who owned the De Forest three-element Audion patents and the Arnold "high vacuum tube" application. It seems that while Langmuir was developing his tube, Arnold was working on his, and neither knew about the other. This case was eventually decided in favor of Langmuir. Another earlier deadlock was between Fleming and his two-element valve and De Forest with his three-element Audion. Fleming had patents which restricted De Forest from selling his Audion, so De Forest obtained patents which forbade Fleming's improving his now-out-of-date valve. This was eventually straightened out by the navy and the Great War.

Sir Isaac Newton, 1727-1927: A Bicentenary Evaluation of His Work. Papers prepared under the auspices of the History of Science Society. The Williams and Wilkins Company. $5.

The two-hundredth anniversary of Newton's death was quite naturally the occasion for a meeting of scientists and historians to honor his memory and celebrate his achievements. The present volume grew out of the papers read at that meeting. Scholars in various fields present in a popular fashion and clearly the relation of his work to optics, the modern theory of relativity, astrophysics, dynamics, experimental philosophy, alchemy, chemistry, fluxional calculus, religious thought, the mint, and trace later developments consequent to his thought.

The Station. By Robert Byron. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

One wonders why Mr. Byron did not call his book "The Holy Mountain." For it is made up of tales of Mt. Athos in Macedonia, the magnificent mountain of holiness and asceticism, bearing on crest and sides monasteries the first of which was founded by St. Athanasius in the ninth century.

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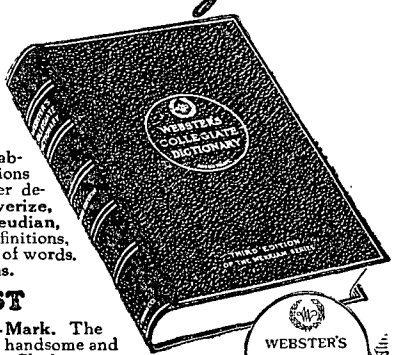

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Within the confines of the monasteries indescribable treasure of Byzantine art lie buried and hidden from unholy eyes. This is a noble subject, but Mr. Byron has treated it in a style almost entirely without emphasis. The result is a curious and confusing mixture of holy relics, icy winds, fleas, and nauseating food. He has mixed his details, relevant and irrelevant, so casually that one misses many of them. One misses, too, among the illustrations, all but a few of the marvelous frescoes which Mr. Byron so ardently describes and which his companion so assiduously photographed. They would have added distinction to the book.

Careers for Women. Edited by Doris E. Fleischman. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.

Brief notes on various careers and professions in which women are finding or have long found it possible to make a living and sometimes to express themselves, by representative women in each field. Medicine, engineering, railroading, child welfare, banking, foreign trade, as well as the more common fields of education and the arts are dealt with more or less successfully. Emma Bugbee of the New York *Herald Tribune* contributes a brilliant and helpful chapter on journalism. Mrs. Lillian Gilbreth discloses the astonishing fact that she has, while pursuing her profession of consulting engineer, also engaged herself with bearing and rearing twelve children. In general the articles are written by New York women, and they will probably be most helpful to young women in search of a career who at the same time live in a large city—preferably, one suspects, New York itself.

Back Trailers from the Middle Border. By Hamlin Garland. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

This book completes Mr. Garland's four volumes that portray "the autobiographic history of several families." In dealing with the Midwestern lives of his little groups as well as with the return of his own family branch to the East, he has constantly "kept as close to the intimate, everyday life" of his characters as his memory and his diary enabled him to do. The result is a series of books that attempt to fuse fact and imagination into an artistic whole—a sort of combined journal and novel on a large scale. Perhaps the series might have been better had it stressed one element to the exclusion of the other: as fact it lacks the biting power of plain, unadulterated truth, and as fiction it seems rather pale and ineffectual when contrasted with "Main-Traveled Roads."

Art

Half-Way Mark

FEBRUARY was the half-way mark in the year's exhibits in New York, the time when, as with the stock market, one looks back and perhaps forewards. The year has not been one of either revelations or revolutions. Last year the department stores discovered modern art, which was something of both. This year they merely carried on, along with the regular galleries which continued to show their masters and masterettes. One new gallery, however, has to some degree stolen the department store's glory. That is the American Designers' Gallery which in its first exhibit has two of the most notable rooms that modern decoration has produced.

The first is the bathroom by Varnum Poor. Everyone has envied the Roman baths in which pudgy senators steamed themselves each day a little nearer the decline and fall. Mr. Poor's room, though it possesses a shower and is not so extensive, achieves the same general atmosphere. Tiles of Prussian blue and oak brown, a deft, nervous design, sometimes with abstract forms, at other times using human and vegetable motifs, it has a regal air, which invites one to rest and not to move. I know that few in our democratic nation would trade for this luxury their chaste and sanitary white-tiled chambers, but were they sufficiently decadent they would at least enjoy it.

A similar effect is achieved in the room called "Repose," by Joseph Urban. This is almost completely in black and white. Black velvet and gaberdine, black rug, black opaque glass to line the walls, set off by imitation ivory for the escutcheons, handles, and edges. The windows were long, fairly wide, and frosted. Small reliefs were made by the incidental pieces in rich, subdued colors. The ingredients, being theatrical, strike one as unrestful. They proved instead how restful such richness can be.

Of the one-man picture exhibits, one of the most provocative was that of Rembrandt's etchings at Kennedy's. One frequently hears him referred to as a profound religious artist. Why? Take his "Three Crosses." From a distance one admires the splendid quality of the composition and of its lights and shades. But, looked at closely, the figures show what seems a minimum of religious feeling. Jesus, his friends, and executioners alike have physiognomies similar to those in the cartoons of current East Side racketeers. The same is true of the "Christ Presented to the People." For confirmation there is Rembrandt's "Temptation," which shows a pot-bellied woman handing a somewhat deciduous man an apple, while a weather-worn dragon climbs a tree. Rembrandt was a mystic of the real, and of art, and perhaps, moved by these enthusiasms, he wanted to teach that the ugly in body might be beautiful in spirit, and that anything well done was valuable. But eventually the etchings of the country and people of his time, such as "Six's Bridge," "Beggars at the Door of a House," or his self-portraits, where his subjects are in harmony with his nature, may come to be considered the real fruit of his greatness.

Another show which changes one's idea of the artist is that of Maillol at Weyhe's. Renoir said that when he saw Maillol working in his garden near Paris he unconsciously looked around for olive trees, so much did Maillol seem to be of Greece. The majority of this sculptor's work that has been reproduced in the magazines has been done after husky models, such as that of the wrestling woman. Consequently his classicism has seemed rather Junoesque. But in those at Weyhe's the charm is in the deft grace of the figures, their nervousness and lyric spirituality, which is really more true to the Grecian tradition, and which explains Renoir's remark. Moreover he seems to be of more uneven sensibilities than his reputation as the greatest sculptor of our times would make one think. His castings have seldom much beauty of bronze, and sometimes not of form or design. But in his Sapphic moods he retrieves himself.

Another well-heralded man is Raymond Duchamp Villon, whose introduction was also his memorial exhibition. His work, unlike Maillol's, cannot be epitomized, as he seems to have made experiments corresponding to every art theory of his time. However, his intelligence and sensibilities were equally acute and make his eclecticism as brilliant in its development as Raphael's. Had he survived the war he might have brought out something peculiar to himself, though the fervor of his reactions to different stimuli, which are his chief charm, might have prevented it.

Quite contrary is the legacy of Eugene Zak, which was shown by Durand-Ruel. Rather than assimilating contemporary stimuli he seemed to wish a refuge from them and built himself a mythology of quaint angular forms and places, not far from Watteau's "Cytherie." He also constructed an original gamut of tones which equal the metallic brilliance of lacquer and make one wish he had worked with furniture or furnishings.

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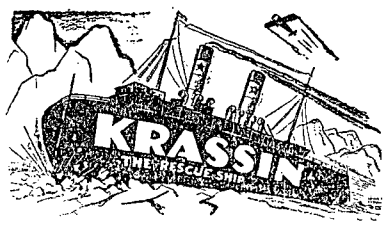

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International Relations Section

British and Americans in Shanghai

SHANGHAI, which is dominated by British "old China hands," has been the scene in recent years of a struggle between the older British imperialists and the new American invaders. The British have tended to be more hostile than the Americans to the Nationalist movement and have deeply resented the action of the American government in recognizing Nanking in advance of the other Powers. The friction between the two groups has taken many interesting forms, one of which is described below by a noted American correspondent in China, who prefers to remain anonymous:

Our new Y. M. C. A. in Shanghai was opened six months ago. The money was supplied largely by donations of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Charles R. Crane, Robert Dollar, and other Americans. But a local campaign in Shanghai raised approximately 5 per cent of the total, of which a portion was contributed by local British residents.

There are now about 1,000 American marines in Shanghai, members of the Fourth Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Fred G. Kilgore. The marine barracks is located a short distance from the new building, so a few months ago Colonel Kilgore wrote a letter to the Foreign Y. M. C. A. suggesting that about 200 members of the Marine Corps would like to become members of the Foreign Y. The membership committee did not encourage Colonel Kilgore in any way, so in order to have a showdown Colonel Kilgore actually put up one of the members of the Marine Corps for membership in the building. This request was taken up by the membership and general committees of the Y. M. C. A. and the marine was flatly turned down, although the Y. M. C. A. did write a letter to Kilgore telling him that the marines might use certain facilities in the building at times when they would not interfere with the regular members.

Now there is a building, constructed by the Army and Navy Branch of the American Y. M. C. A. several years ago in the downtown section of Shanghai, about three miles from the United States Marine Barracks. It is usually overcrowded with sailors from the gunboats stationed in the river. The action of the Foreign Y. M. C. A. in turning down the marines for membership was nominally based on the existence of this Army and Navy Y. M. C. A.

But there is more to it than that. I find, looking over the membership of the various committees of the Foreign Y. M. C. A., that at least 50 per cent of them are British residents of this city. Also, in looking over its membership rolls, I find that a considerable number of British officers connected with the British Defense Force here have been elected to full membership; several are living in the building. This tells the story. The British here, by contributing a small amount of money to our Foreign Y. M. C. A., have actually obtained a predominant position in the Y. M. C. A. and, while permitting British officers to become members, they have turned down members of the American Marine Corps!

The incident is a phase of an underground campaign against the American marines which has been conducted here by British interests almost continuously since President Coolidge last year declared that America would not participate in any armed intervention in China further than to protect American citizens in Shanghai. Since that time there has been a continuous propaganda here for the purpose of discrediting the American marines and at the same time holding up the British troops here as the sole defenders of Western civilians on the China Coast.

China's New Labor Laws

THE new Nationalist Government of China has announced labor laws looking toward the eight-hour day, the reduction of child labor, and the abolition of night work for women. Similar laws have been on Chinese statute books in the past but have not been enforced. The factory code summarized below has been drafted by the Ministry of Industry, Commerce, and Labor, but *The Nation* has no information to show that this code is now in force. For the summary we are indebted to the Kou Min News Agency:

Chapter I provides that the law is applicable to all factories established within the territory of the republic of China and regularly employing more than thirty workers. A factory must first register with the Ministry of Industry, Commerce, and Labor through the proper local government organ before it can proceed to enlist workers and start operation. Chapter II provides that child labor under the age of fourteen should be prohibited in all factories, and all boys and girls above fourteen and below sixteen are considered as minor workers who will be permitted to be engaged in light and easy work only. A worker may enter into an individual contract with the factory, while the labor unions may conclude collective contracts with the factories on behalf of any group of workers. Contracts of both kinds must be in writing and must first be approved by the proper government organs before they can become valid.

Chapter III deals with dismissals of workers. Individual contracts will be canceled upon expiration of their stipulated time, but may be renewed by mutual agreement. As regards those individual contracts for which no stipulation of time is made, if either party desires the cancelation of the same, a notice must be given to the other party at least one month in advance. For summary dismissals by the factories a minimum extra sum of money amounting to one month's wages of the workers must be given to the dismissed workers. Before social insurance laws are put into force an additional sum equal to one month must be given. . . .

The regular daily working period for adults is eight hours, but, owing to varying local conditions and the nature of the work, factories may petition the proper local government organ for the extension of the time limit to ten hours. For minors the working period must, under no circumstances, exceed eight hours. Female workers are absolutely forbidden to work at night during the hours between 10 p. m. and 6 a. m., while minor workers are not allowed to work at night from 7 p. m. to 6 a. m., nor to extend their daily working hours.

Chapter V provides for rest and recreation of the workers. All adult workers, working consecutively for five hours and minor workers for four hours, must rest for at least thirty minutes. All workers, however, must have a continuous rest of eighteen hours every seven days and also stop work during holidays designated and promulgated by the Ministry of Industry, Commerce, and Labor. . . .

Minimum wages of the workers must be based upon the living conditions and cost of various necessities of life of each particular locality where the factories happen to be. Monthly

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wages are payable twice a month. Under certain conditions the wages may be reduced or increased. Distribution of profits is dealt with in Chapter VIII, in which it is provided that 10 per cent of the net profit of the factory after due deductions for the reserve fund should be distributed among the management and directors; 45 per cent among the shareholders; 45 per cent among the workers.

Chapter X provides for the establishment of works' councils in factories employing not less than thirty regular workers. The works' councils shall be composed of an equal number of representatives from both the employers and employees. The employees' representatives shall be separately elected to represent different departments as may be contained in a factory, the basis of representation being graduated according to a rising scale. The functions of the works' council will be to settle disputes among the workers themselves as well as those between the employers and the employees; to submit proposals for the improvement of factory conditions; and to initiate enterprises for the welfare of the workers.

Problems concerning apprenticeship are treated in Chapter XI. According to the provisions, no factory will be allowed to engage apprentices without first concluding contracts with the parents or their guardians specifying their treatment and the nature of their work. The local authorities should also be supplied with a copy of the contract. The period of apprenticeship will not last more than three years, during which time the apprentices will be supplied with board and lodging according to the minimum living standard to be determined by the local authorities concerned, and will receive medical care in case of illness.

The special regulations contained in Chapter XIII provide for special preferential treatment of workers engaged in works of a dangerous or exceptionally exacting nature, for medical expenses and compensation for those injured or killed in the course of their employment; for leave of absence with full pay for women workers for two months on account of childbirth; and return of part or all of the workers' savings in case of marriages or death of their family members.

Chapter XV deals with factory inspection and provides that the Ministry of Industry, Commerce, and Labor shall establish a factory inspectorate to investigate conditions in factories. Chapter XVI deals with penalties and fines to be imposed upon any factory found guilty of violating the labor law.

Contributors to This Issue

SINCLAIR LEWIS's new novel, "Dodsworth," will appear shortly.

PAUL Y. ANDERSON is the national correspondent of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*.

MERRYLE STANLEY RUKEYSER writes a daily financial column for the New York *American* and associated newspapers.

HAROLD J. LASKI is professor of political science in London University.

WILLIAM MACDONALD is a regular contributor of historical and political reviews to *The Nation*.

WALTER KIEN, on the staff of Johns Hopkins University, is an authority on German and Scandinavian literature.

ARTHUR LOWER is a Canadian, at present in the history department of Harvard University.

WINIFRED RAUSHENBUSH has for many years been engaged in sociological research in various fields.

MAX RADIN is professor of law at the University of California.

WALTER GUTMAN is at work on a book on modern art.

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